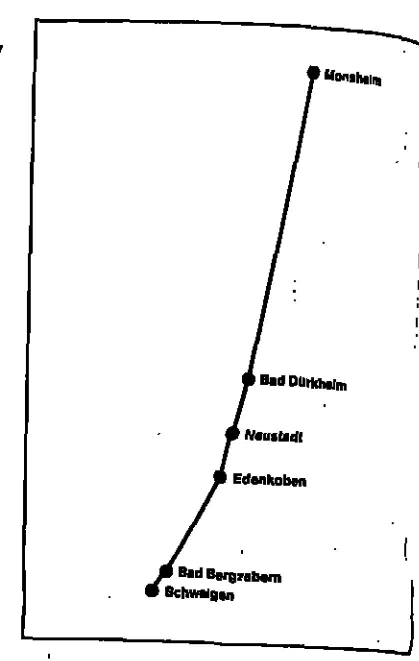
Routes to tour in Germany

The German Wine Route





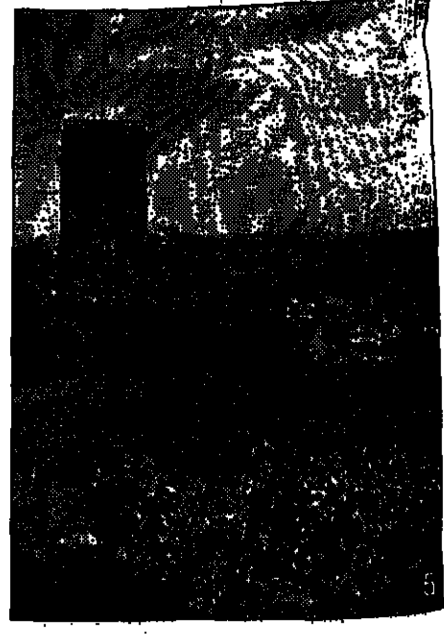
German roads will get you there – to the Palatinate woods, for instance, where 2,000 years ago Roman legionaries were already growing wine. Each vine yields up to three litres of various kinds of wine, such as Riesling, Sylvaner, Müller-Thurgau, Scheurebe or Gewürztraminer. Grapes are gathered in the autumn but the season never ends. Palatinate people are always ready to throw a party, and wine always holds pride of place, generating *Gemütlichkeit* and good cheer. As at the annual Bad Dürkheim Wurstmarkt, or sausage market, the Deidesheim goat auction and the election of the German Wine Queen in Neustadt. Stay the night in wine-growing villages, taste the wines and become a connoisseur.

Visit Germany and let the Wine Route be your guide.









1 Grapes on the vine
2 Dorrenbach
3 St Martin
4 Deidesheim
5 Wachenheim

The German Tribune

Hamburg, 5 November 1989
Twenty-eighth year - No. 1394 - By air

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East Berlin policies still dogged by expediency

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

The "political turning-point" the new East German leader Egon Krenz has proclaimed in policies to be pursued by the ruling SED continues to be based on considerations of expediency and opportunism.

It was opportunist in that otherwise the machinery of power in the GDR would no longer have been able to withstand the pressure exerted by the masses — either those who left the country or those who stayed and demanded changes after so many years of stagnation.

The GDR leaders' loss of authority was evident beforehand, particularly when Hungary paid no heed to East Berlin and let East German refugees cross the border to the West.

It was also clear when the Soviet Union was either unable or unwilling to rush to the GDR leaders' assistance.

They must have realised, by the time Mr Gorbachov visited East Berlin at the latest, that they would no longer be able to resist the pressure of trends elsewhere in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union.

The SED leadership, which has so far been reshuffled, not replaced, is doing not what it wants but what it is obliged to do.

It is doing so at some speed, being understandably keen to spearhead and control the movement for change and thereby make sure that changes appear to take place within rather than outside existing structures.

"Socialism" and the GDR constitution are not to be called into question. In other words, inroads into the monopoly of power held by the ruling SED, even a *soi-disant* reformist SED, are not to be tolerated.

The SED's aim is to restore political stability in the GDR at a new level.

In this it has allies. They include the Federal Republic, which has no interest in an uncontrolled, directionless process of development in the GDR, partly for the justified reason that the German Question might then be posed too soon and outside the context of an all-German framework that has yet to take shape.

They include the Soviet Union, which retains a keen strategic interest in the GDR.

They also include many people in the GDR itself who believe in the possibility of change under socialism and either don't call the SED's claim to leadership into question or feel they will not be allowed to do so.

The SED itself must feel most unsure what concessions will secure fresh political stability and when people will feel that a new relationship between rulers and ruled has been established.

The personal opportunism demonstrated by many officials who say today the opposite of what they said yesterday in a bid to retain their position in the apparatus of power is no help whatever.

Yet the SED evidently feels there is an urgent need to channel a potentially revolutionary process into one of planned evolution.

Its aim is to prevent for as long as it can the question of how legitimate its rule is from emerging as the main point at issue. It has already been raised in demonstrations all over the GDR and at many meetings and debates.

The SED's position in the GDR, its very survival, is an outcome of the Stalinist era.

It was set up in a forcible merger of the Communists and the Social Democrats. Relying on help given by the Soviet military administration, it made the other parties "bloc parties."

It refused to hold any more free elections to legitimise its position and even

More East German coverage on page 3

deprived the people of modest opportunities of influencing the selection of candidates.

Bloc parties may now, in keeping with their members' fundamental wishes, be seeking greater independence from the SED, which would seem to call a fundamental Stalinist feature of the system into question.

But here too, and heedless of legitimacy, the SED's claim to leadership has not yet been called into question.

It is, nonetheless, hard to see how the question as to the SED's legitimation, its democratic credentials, can be evaded for much longer.

It has inevitably arisen in respect of all communist parties in Eastern European countries where processes of political reform have been either introduced or gained by force.

In Poland and Hungary the communist parties have realised that socialism can only survive if it is convincing in a system based on political pluralism.

In Poland the communist party has already forfeited sole political power. It continues to play a part in politics, but only in view of Poland's external interests and of the urgent need to stop the country from tearing itself to pieces against the background of a catastrophic economic situation.

In Hungary the Party has changed its name to Socialist Party of Hungary and is preparing to lose power, or at least to have to share it.

The SED will not necessarily want to follow the example set in other countries that used to be tamed or fettered by the Warsaw Pact.

But the alternative is the use of force, which continues to be used in Prague against anyone who calls for changes including truth and the legitimation of the political leadership by fre elections.

Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers say full respect for human rights is a sine qua non of a European peace order.

Every country is expressly guaranteed the right to freely choose its own social, political and economic system and process of development.

The SED cannot, in the circumstances, constantly deny people in the GDR the right to free elections on the ground that the choice has already been made and is that the SED has a political obligation to look after people in the GDR.

Continued on page 7

American in Bonn

Washington Defence secretary Richard Cheney (left) and Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Cheney was making a short visit to Germany. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Opposition body *welcomes* refugee amnesty

Three days after Egon Krenz replaced Erich Honecker as East German Party leader and head of state an amnesty was declared for most refugees and demonstrators.

All refugees who left before 27 October, no matter how, will not be persecuted or punished if they return either permanently or to visit.

The co-founder of the Opposition New Forum, Bärbel Bohley, said the amnesty was a "genuine first step". Yet it is due less to a change of heart than a realisation of facts that can no longer be ignored.

They include the pressure by hundreds of thousands of demonstrators demanding reforms and the untenable vagaries of legal treatment given to refugees.

Those in Bonn's embassies and diplomatic missions were allowed to go to the West. Others were still classed as criminals.

Given the other, no less justified demands, it is hard to hail the amnesty as a glorious victory. They include calls to lift travel restrictions (which has been promised), the rehabilitation of (dissident)artists, the formal recognition of Opposition groups and the setting-up of a constitutional court.

There can be no doubt what these demands mean as a whole. They challenge the power monopoly of the SED.

As the Party sees itself as the vanguard of the working class, it is hard to see it giving up absolute power.

Frau Bohley praised the amnesty. We in the West can judge by other criteria. We must not overstrain our feelings of doubt.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 28 October 1989)

IN THIS ISSUE

■ INTERNATIONAL

The Hungarians turn their country upside down

One thing Hungarians have never lacked in their history is courage. Luck, on the other hand, has often not been on their side.

Courageously, they are casting off their Communist shackles to bid farewell to a form of socialism imposed upon them for decades.

They are taking advantage of the a favourable situation. The East bloc's hegemonic power, the Soviet Union, is hardly able to cope with its own economic and social difficulties and is letting its former satellites freewheel.

Former regimes in the Kremlin would have pilloried Budapest for committing sacrilege.

In its new constitution it expressly proclaims its support for the freedom of the individual and democratic socialism. From an orthodox Communist point of view Hungary is thus falling behind the achieved level of history by renouncing the dictatorship of the proletariat and embarking on a path towards a bourgeois society.

What the Magyars are attempting to do, as a kind of East Bloc vanguard, definitely merits the description "revolution." Hungarian society is no longer being just reformed, but turned entirely upside down.

Admittedly, the jubilation which welcomed the new freedom in front of the venerable parliamentary building in Budapest may soon die away and be replaced by the economic realities of everyday life.

The revolution, which is being single-mindedly encouraged by the Hungarian leadership, not only brings political self-determination, but also means economic burdens.

The envisaged transition to an — albeit regulated — market economy implies abandoning familiar social safeguards and accepting hitherto unknown unemployment.

Honest prices are generally higher prices. To begin with at least wages will be unable to keep pace, since this would otherwise, as in Poland, lead to unrestrained inflation.

It is easy for us in the West to urge the peoples of the East to tighten their belts; they at any rate already feel that the belts are tight enough.

After all, they already suffered the experience of life without a market economy. Although there have been short spells of high consumption long-term mass poverty would result without a fundamental change.

There would be no hope of ever reaching the realm of freedom in which the Marxist promise, "To each according to his needs," could be redeemed.

The opportunities of those forces which stand for change in the East today lie in precisely this fiasco of the traditional socialist model and in the anger of the masses at the lies of their former functionaries.

There is no alternative to these forces of change, whose basis of trust will probably help them pull through times of crisis.

This is one explanation for the fact that Mikhail Gorbachov is still in power. He has often been confronted by crises during his period in office and — worse still — there is a risk of a dramatic supply crisis in the Soviet Union during the winter. Yet even Gorbachov will have to prove to the Soviet peoples in the not too distant future that all the effort of restructuring has not been in vain.

The acid test for the new policy will be the situation in the shops. A continuing lack of goods could lead to growing despair with unpredictable repercussions.

No-one knows how much time the modernisers in the East have — whether in Moscow, Warsaw or Budapest. The West should give them a helping hand, but it cannot do their work for them.

Ongoing events have made one thing clear: with the exception of the special case of Romania the pressure to carry out reforms and to change society affects all East Bloc regimes.

Even in the GDR, with the special problems connected with its dissociation from the Federal Republic of Germany, the process has been set in motion.

The new freedom in public dialogue makes this even clearer than the replacement of leading personalities. The fact that East Berlin can at all afford this hint of glasnost indicates that new steps will follow.

It is only a matter of time before things begin to change in Czechoslovakia.

Despite the specific circumstances of individual socialist countries Communist hardliners will find it extremely difficult to turn back the clock once the Gorbachov virus has spread to all countries.

The suppression of the Spring of Prague in 1968 only affected one country; the imposition of martial law in Poland in 1981 was also viewed as a national problem; and in the opinion of cynical power politicians the Hungarian revolt in 1956 and the rebellion in the GDR in 1953 were also isolated problems.

In all these cases freedom was the cause, but the freedom fighters stood alone. Today, the entire East Bloc is heading for change.

There may be setbacks along the way, but it seems highly unlikely that the development can be restrained altogether.

Erich Honecker's successor as GDR leader, Egon Krenz may feel that a forward-looking strategy stands a better chance of keeping him in power than stalling tactics. Limited hope for the GDR, too? *Joachim Worthmann*

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 25 October 1989)

Assurance over Polish border

During a ceremony in Bonn marking the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the Association of German Expellees Chancellor Kohl described German-Polish reconciliation as a "task with a European dimension", comparable only to the reconciliation between Germany and France. He emphasised that neither now nor in future would the Federal Republic of Germany make territorial claims against Poland.

Kohl, whose visit to Poland begins on 9 November, quoted the correspondent passage of the 1970 Warsaw Treaty in his speech. In this Treaty both countries emphasise "the inviolability of their existing borders now and in future and commit themselves to the unreserved mutual respect of their territorial integrity."

Chancellor Kohl underlined the fact that the accepted national and international foundations of Bonn's Deutschlandpolitik and Ostpolitik remain unchanged.

This means "that we abide by the letter and the spirit of the Warsaw Treaty in all its parts."

According the Chancellor, however, both sides also reaffirmed that the Treaty does not affect agreements previously drawn up between the two countries or bilateral or multilateral international agreements affecting the two countries.

"Each of us knows that we still have no peace treaty," he added — an obvious allusion to the fact that the final delimitation of borders should await a treaty to be concluded with the whole of Germany.

Kohl also pointed out that he had already declared in his state of the nation report in February 1985 that Polish families live in the territories beyond the Polish western frontier for whom this territory has become their home for over two generations. He emphasised that the Federal Republic of Germany would respect and not question this fact. He also said that he hopes that his visit to Poland would lead to a breakthrough in German-Polish relations. *Reuter/dpa/AP*

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 22 October 1989)

Warsaw faces perforated economy and lack of managers, traders

"The system has demoralised the people," Poland's party leader Rakowski admitted in an American magazine.

It is an astonishing sign of the times that a leading Communist can so bluntly discredit the socialist system he himself has supported and defended all his life.

The great social policy experiment which the peoples of Eastern Europe have been forced to go along with for over forty years has not only ruined their economies, but also weakened the foundations of their societies.

Work has lost its meaning and money has lost its value. The Communist system has destroyed the criteria for achievement and quality and replaced personal initiative by irresponsibility.

It has turned people against one another by distributing undeserved privileges and exacerbating the struggle for scarce goods. Everyday human solidarity, an important factor in all societies, has fallen victim to the inefficiencies of a mismanaged economy.

Why is life on the one side of the Berlin Wall so much easier than life on the other? The answer, it seems, was given long ago. In the West there is freedom, democracy and the free market — in the East despotism and monopolies.

The explanation, however, is not quite as easy as that. In Poland, for example, everyday life has not become any easier since greater freedom and the free market moved in.

Life does not function mechanically. Prosperity and social harmony cannot be brought about forcibly just by loosening a few legal screws.

What more or less holds democratic societies together is not so much their freedom as the consensus about its limits.

Prosperity is not *per se* the result of the market economy system, but can only flourish in a generally accepted legal framework which is respected to an equal extent by the state and its citizens.

Finally, there is no country in the world in which, in the long run, good money is paid for bad work.

Continued on page 12

Aid for Poles' export drive

The Bonn government does not intend fixing an official ceiling to future Hermes export credit guarantees for Poland. It will, however, inform the Polish side that loans for specific projects can be granted up to a level of DM3bn.

According to reliable sources this is the outcome of consultations between Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Economics Minister Helmut Haussmann, and Finance Minister Theo Waigel.

In Bonn there was a tendency not to support any upper limit, but to decide on the eligibility of projects for financial support on a case by case basis.

Poland's Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, however, insisted — as did his predecessor in office — that a financial framework should be laid down to allow Poland to make plans accordingly.

Taking this desire into account Chancellor Kohl and the Bonn Ministers agreed on the compromise of informal notification without a ceiling. The Chancellor's Office is optimistic about the prospects of agreement being reached in the talks recommencing on 30 October on an investment promotion agreement.

Up to now the Polish side has been unwilling to accept the German proposals relating to transfer guarantees for future profits. As such an agreement is the precondition for German investments Warsaw is expected to give way on this point.

Speaking to the Standing Conference of German Chambers of Commerce and Industry (DIHT) on 25 October Chancellor Kohl called upon German industry and German banks to take the initiative and help Poland, "whether in the form of more intensive trade ties, in the form of joint investment projects and their financing through debt relief on principal and service repayments, and, last but not least through the provision of additional funds."

The Chancellor expressed his conviction that his visit to Poland between 9 and 14 November "will contribute towards a lasting understanding and reconciliation between the two peoples." He added: "This is a task which affects us all!"

The Chancellor's Office views the fact that, following corresponding agreements, Germans in Poland will in future have their own libraries, be able to found associations and foster contacts with the West German embassy as well as have the opportunity to attend German church services as a commendable success.

Politicians voicing the interests of German expellees, however, criticised the fact that the terms "German", "German ethnic group" or "German minority" are not included in the agreements.

Good news, too, from Paris. France also intends providing Poland with aid worth just under DM1.18bn. *Bernt Conrad*

(Die Welt, Bonn, 26 October 1989)

The German Tribune

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■ THE GDR

No sign of end to power monopoly

Professor Wolfgang Seiffert, who wrote this article for *Welt am Sonntag*, was one of former East Berlin leader Erich Honecker's closest advisers in the 1960s and 1970s. A leading specialist in international economic law, he left for the West in 1978 and now teaches at Kiel University.

Erich Honecker was brought down for three reasons: First, under his leadership the SED plunged the country into the most deep-seated crisis in its history.

Second, he lost the Soviet leaders' support.

Third, 100,000 mainly young people voted with their feet and left the country, while hundreds of thousands more took to the streets calling for a fundamental change in the system and its power structures.

These factors were the crux of the change of power and will be the yardstick of whether the change of power really leads to political change.

That is what really counts, and the prospects are poor. There have been no signs yet, or even hints at, genuine changes in the SED's monopoly of power.

Herr Krenz has made no mention of the SED ever considering itself to be one party among others.

Not for one moment did he suggest that the SED ever intended to hold elections in which voters would be able, by direct and secret ballot, to choose between candidates representing various parties.

He said not a word about the SED relinquishing its monopoly of information or of sacrificing its monopoly of organisation and association to pluralism and the principle of several parties, groups and organisations.

Herr Krenz cannot, of course, simply continue in business as usual, just like Herr Honecker.

He must change something if, as he intends and is expected to do, he is to regain control over developments in the GDR — developments over which the SED has lost control.

With this aim in mind the new man at the helm issued instructions for freer discussion in the media.

Proclaiming the need for dialogue, he attended a debate at a machine tool factory in East Berlin and held discussions later that day with representatives of the Protestant Church.

With this aim in mind he had the Council of Ministers order improvements in the supply of consumer goods.

With this aim in mind he instructed the Interior Ministry to draw up a Foreign Travel Bill.

But on what basis are all these measures being undertaken? On the basis of existing power structures and of the SED's sole rule.

As long as this is the case, there will and can be no change in the GDR's crisis.

As long as this is the case, the exodus of refugees will continue, the holding of demonstrations and the formation of Opposition groups will continue and Herr Krenz will fail to gain the Soviet leaders' confidence.

It will grow steadily clearer that the crisis in the GDR is an SED crisis and that the transfer of power from Erich Honecker to Egon Krenz is a desperate and inadequate move.

For many people in the GDR the appointment of Egon Krenz, the man who congratulated the Chinese leaders on crushing the democracy movement and who rigged last May's local government elections, was merely adding insult to injury.

So there is likely to be a repetition of the transfer of power, the ouster of the SED general secretary and of other members of the politburo that used to be considered the stablest in the Warsaw Pact.

This change could lead to others — until such time as bona fide reforms who are prepared to relinquish their monopoly on power come to the fore.

Wolfgang Seiffert

(Welt am Sonntag, Hamburg, 22 October 1989)

Change or continuation? That's the big question

The writer of this article, Hermann Weber, is professor of political science and contemporary history at Mannheim University. Aged 60, he is one of the Federal Republic's leading academic experts on communism. He has written over 35 books and publications, including a number of standard works, He specialises in developments in East Germany and in the many forms Marxism-Leninism takes. He is a member of the academic advisory council to the Institute of Contemporary History, Munich, and of the Historical Commission, Berlin.

Egon Krenz, Erich Honecker's successor as East German leader, promised, on taking over power, a turning-point.

He may have meant an offensive by the ruling party, the SED, but there were parallels between his claim and how Erich Honecker had taken over from Walter Ulbricht in 1971.

Eighteen years ago Herr Honecker termed Ulbricht's replacement a "decisive milestone" in East Germany's development.

Herr Honecker did indeed embark on a number of encouraging changes, but continuity in relation to the Ulbricht era remained the hallmark of his term in office.

The old Stalinist structures were not supplanted. The SED upheld its claim to ideological leadership. The consequence is the deep-seated crisis the GDR, founded in 1949, now faces at 40.

Can Herr Krenz cope with the crisis? People in the GDR are sceptical, and most observers see scant hopes of renewal under his leadership.

He owes too much to his political godfather, Herr Honecker, and is seen as a dogmatist and hard-liner. But historical comparisons here counsel caution.

Much the same views were voiced on herr Honecker in 1971, yet he proved both flexible and capable of learning during his first years in power.

He didn't remain so in home affairs, but he did in foreign affairs and Deutschlandpolitik.

No-one yet knows whether Herr Krenz is still capable of learning. He is at least said to have ordered the security forces under his control not to crush the mass demonstrations in Leipzig.

But, unlike Herr Honecker in 1971, Herr Krenz has little time at his disposal. *The present state of shock the GDR* is in might jeopardise the system's survival unless he were able and willing to embark soon on perceptible reforms.

Maybe, as a Marxist-Leninist, he will heed Lenin's "fundamental law" of a revolutionary situation.

Lenin wrote that a revolution was inevitable when the lower classes no longer want the old order and the upper classes can no longer sustain it.

The GDR is moving dangerously close to this state of affairs. Mass demonstrations and the mass exodus of refugees show that the "lower classes" no longer want the old system, while under Herr Honecker's leadership the rulers were no longer able to maintain law and order.

The prospects of peaceful renewal in the GDR do not, for a variety of reasons, look as gloomy as might at first glance seem to be the case:

1. The new travel legislation Herr Krenz says is being prepared might well stem the tide of refugees for good, but only if it isn't yet another disappointment.

2. The mass demonstrations have so far been exemplary in the atmosphere of non-violence in which they have been held.

3. The Opposition that is emerging is ready to hold talks, as are the Churches.

4. Relative peace and quiet still reign at factories and universities — even if it may only be the quiet before the storm.

5. On balance the SED seems to have remained intact as the leading party, while other parties and "mass organisations" have shown themselves capable of supporting peaceful renewal.

6. Not for nothing does Mr Gorbachov's Soviet Union as the East Bloc superpower every reason to encourage and support a peaceful restructuring of

Continued on page 13

Krenz — three jobs and a problem with credibility

Egon Krenz's election as East Germany's State Council and National Defence Council chairman is in keeping with the neo-Stalinist custom in "people's democracies" of concentrating the crucial appointments in the Party leader's hands.

It is disappointing that, despite all promises of reform, this undemocratic concentration of power was not abandoned and another candidate elected head of state.

At this juncture the Liberal Democratic leader, Professor Manfred Gerlach, would have been a suitable candidate.

He has lately criticised the state's appalling information policy and the SED's a prior claim to power — without calling the ruling party's leadership into question.

But it will have been too early for such a demonstrative change.

Yet Herr Krenz will find it all the more difficult to hold on to all three jobs — SED general secretary, State Council chairman and National Defence Council chairman — in the face of mass public protest.

He will certainly find it hard to do so and at the same time to uphold the credibility of his "change," or "turning-point," after 40 years of party-political mismanagement.

There have nonetheless been encouraging signs of goodwill and of a new and more easy-going approach.

Egon Krenz is the first State Council chairman, or head of state, elected not unanimously but with several abstentions and votes against.

He was no reformer —he had a reputation as a hard-liner, but his inaugural TV address held forth the promise of cautious progress toward restoring bearable political conditions in the walled-in state.

He called on the People's Chamber to hold critical and self-critical debate. *Law-making could not consist solely of* rubber-stamping government legislation, he said.

Plans to draw up fresh legislation on foreign travel presuppose a possible amnesty for people serving prison sentences for attempting to leave the country without permission.

An amnesty would redress the balance of legal equality for people in the GDR.

Herr Krenz appealed to fellow-citizens who might be planning to quit to reconsider, to have confidence in the spirit of change in the GDR and to stay.

Without resorting to the usual tiresome SED polemics he undertook to extend relations with the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin.

This unaccustomed frankness of the mass media, protest demonstrations and critical discussion forums are a musical accompaniment that prevents, for the time being, a retrenchment of the SED in its erstwhile unassailable bastions of power.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 25 October 1989)

Hands on the controls of state

The State Council is one of East Germany's foremost central organs of political control. It was set up in 1960 on the death of GDR President Wilhelm Pieck to improve state leadership in accordance with SED resolutions.

Members of the State Council are elected for five-year terms by the People's Chamber and are answerable to it.

Their most important tasks include international legal representation of the GDR and the calling of elections at all levels. The chairman of the State Council is the official head of state.

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 25 October 1989)

The National Defence Council, set up in 1960, is the state council in charge of ensuring the defence of the GDR.

Since 1978 it has also been entrusted with "all necessary measures for the defence of the country and the protection of the socialist system, including any that may differ from existing legislation or other legal provisions."

The National Defence Council is responsible for issuing mobilisation orders. In the event of a domestic or external emergency it is thus the supreme decision-making body.

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 25 October 1989)

■ POLITICS

Republicans poll well in local elections

The extreme-right-wing Republicans maintained their electoral momentum with widespread success in Baden-Württemberg local government elections. They did particularly well in the larger cities, picking up 14.2 per cent in Heidenheim, 9.8 per cent in Mannheim, 9.6 per cent in Stuttgart, 7.2 per cent in Ulm, 6.9 per cent in Karlsruhe and 6.4 per cent in Freiburg. Their most notable metropolitan failure was in Heidelberg, where they won just 4.4 per cent, not enough to put deputies into the town hall.

Are the Republicans the only really new political force in the Federal Republic of Germany or just a manifestation of die-hard reactionism?

Their organisational evolution at least is a definite political innovation.

From one election to the next the right-wing populist party has been robbing the substructure of the traditional party-political system of a substantial chunk of its electoral support. And from one election to the next all the established parties can do is look on in awe.

What makes matters worse is that all this is taking place in what has often been described as the model Western European industrial society.

Politically, the year 1989 is coming to *an end the way it began. As in the state* elections in Berlin and Hesse, the European elections, and the local government elections in North Rhine-Westphalia the local government elections in Baden-Württemberg reflect a clear electoral pattern: the CDU is on a losing streak, the SPD is stagnating, and the Republicans have been astonishingly successful.

As for the other parties, no-one in the FDP, the Greens or the independent voters' groups is losing any sleep over the vicissitudes of their election performances.

The Republicans have made particularly deep inroads into the traditional structure of party politics in urban areas.

They almost gained ten per cent of the vote in Stuttgart and Mannheim, even more in medium-sized towns such as Pforzheim and Heilbronn and as much as 14.2 per cent in Heidenheim.

The party even managed to poll 6.4 per cent in Freiburg, a town with a reputation for its liberal-mindedness.

It is easy to imagine what the party's average vote would have been for the whole of Baden-Württemberg if Republican candidates had run for seats in all constituencies.

The figures presented in the opinion poll *Politbarometer* on the second German television network afford little consolation. According to these figures the Republicans would only get three per cent of the vote if the general election were held today.

Right-wing voters, however, dislike admitting their extreme political views in opinion surveys. Consequently, the claim that the Bonn coalition again has an opinion poll majority can hardly be taken at its face value.

The established political parties, a category which to a certain extent already includes the Greens, finds it particularly difficult to fight right-wing populism because its electoral potential apparently exists in relative independence of the party which is currently almost effortlessly activating it.

Regardless of whether Republican candidates run in elections or not or whether they squabble at party congresses like wild provincial caudillos the Republicans still manage to gain votes.

Criticism of the party's programmatic shortcomings and its lack of competent politicians is futile, since the voters concerned are mainly dissatisfied with the established political parties.

The models generally used to interpret the success of this right-wing group are oversimplified.

The catch-all of right-wing extremism is inadequate. Neonationalism? In view of the fact that Republican supporters are the least outspoken in their support of *German reunification this concept al*so falls short of the mark. A protest of the socially downgraded? This may hold true to a certain extent with respect to the problem areas in Berlin and North Rhine-Westphalia, but what does this mean in the southern German prosperity belt?

It is becoming increasingly clear that Republican voters are a by-product of the process of modernisation in our society.

Even in the more prosperous regions the economic upswing has been accompanied by a growing polarisation between the haves and the have-nots.

The sociopsychological frame of mind of those who have always felt neglected hardly differs from that of persons who have gained a little but who are afraid to lose out in the long run. The deterioration of the housing market

Continued on page 5

Rank and file criticised for 'lack of intelligence'

The federal chairman of the Republicans, Franz Schönhuber, feels that many members of his party are not intelligent enough.

During the congress of the party's Bavarian section in Ansbach he complained about members who jostle for party posts without possessing the necessary intellectual resources.

Describing the minimum requirements for the job of politician Schönhuber claimed that the person concerned "must be able to read and write bills and give new impetus."

The party chairman conceded that his demand for an "intellectualisation" of the party had met with a negative response.

He added, however, that the letters of protest he had received, in which, on average, there were three spelling mistakes per line, underlined the appropriateness of his demand.

Schönhuber summed up the situation as follows: "We need presentable members."

The desire for presentability did not relate to intellect, but to democratic convictions.

Both Schönhuber and the chairman of the Bavarian section, Neubauer,



warned delegates against persons who join the party to discredit the Republicans through their extremist remarks.

Neubauer referred to "attention-seeking loners" as well as *"agents provocateurs"*, who have been "smuggled in" by rival organisations.

He emphasised that no-one can now stop the Republicans, "providing we do not trip over our own feet."

Schönhuber compared the extremist members with submarines, which have to be sunk as soon as possible.

If the expression did not smack of Communism, said Schönhuber, he would be prepared for a "purge."

The delegates were told that a decisive factor when containing extremist tendencies is the composition of the Bavarian section's court of arbitration.

During the new election of this body in Ansbach most votes were cast for the two candidates who favour a tougher implementation of party rules.

Although the chairman of the court of arbitration responsible for party discipline throughout the country criticised the intention of adopting an "uncompromising" stance against extremism he did admit that the political remarks made by many members had caused problems for the party.

"Seventy cases have been brought before the federal court of arbitration," he said, "and there is an upward trend."

Schönhuber also criticised the attitude of some party members towards the refugees from the GDR.

Unfortunately, some "party officials" are "narrow-minded bourgeois", who stir up fears that the immigrants could become competititors on the job market and who try to exploit the situation for party-political gain.

The position of the Republicans on the refugee problem was unclear for many weeks. In Ansbach Schönhuber put out the following slogan: "We are the only friends of the GDR immigrants."

Schönhuber urged delegates not to declare certain positions as false simply because they have been adopted by left-wing parties.

This remark was prompted by the motion forwarded by one delegate for a deletion of the expression "new poverty" in the party manifesto for the Bavarian local government elections.

Schönhuber described the thesis that the Federal Republic of Germany has a "two-thirds society", in which one third of the population comprises persons in need, as accurate.

He also supported the assertion that widespread unemployment exists in the Federal Republic despite the reference to the large number of job vacancies.

He insisted that a basis principle of the Republicans should be the priority of the environment over "profit seeking." In the opinion of the Republicans this is compatible with their demand to "pull out of nuclear energy."

Finally, Schönhuber advised delegates to read what *Peter Glotz, the* "most intelligent *Social Democrat*", has written about *right*-wing parties. He said that a great deal could be learnt from Glotz, even though he is an opponent of the Republicans.

Roswin Finkenzeller

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 23 October 1989)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Doing business across the narrowing divide between East and West

Hungary badly needs a new telephone infrastructure. But it cannot get the technology from Western manufacturers because some of the computers and switchgear are banned as being of possible military use. This was one of the many points which cropped up at the eighth Dräger Foundation symposium in Malente, Schleswig-Holstein. The theme was commercial relations between West and East. Theo Mönch-Tegeder wrote this report for *Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt*.

It still seems strange to hear the Hungarian Trade Minister say: "The East Bloc no longer exists. There can no longer be any question of a homogenous bloc."

But Tamás Beck did all he could at the Malente Symposium, sponsored by the Draeger Foundation, Lübeck, to underline as clearly as he could his country's progress from East to West.

He felt there was no question of a choice between a planned or a market economy either, or of how many features of a market economy might be needed to streamline ailing socialist economies. The answers were clear:

"All that is left is a choice between a good and a bad market economy. We in Hungary want a good, in other words the right, market economy."

How differently the same question was answered by the GDR's representative, Professor Max Schmidt, director of the Institute of International Politics and Economics (IPW), and one of the East Berlin regime's leading eggheads.

"It would," he said, "be an illusion to believe we might ever take over in full the Western system of values." In part yes, in full no.

But Professor Schmidt would only outline how the economic system might need to be specifically reformed to ensure that young people in the GDR felt they had a future there and didn't prefer to head west.

The performance principle must be enforced. Creativity, independence and responsibility must be clearly taken more into account in wage structures.

People must also be able to buy something with their money. There must be more quality consumer goods. The automobile industry in particular, Professor Schmidt feels, must gain momentum during the next five-year plan.

In other sectors a closer look must be taken at the subsidies which keep down the prices of, say, electricity and rents.

On balance, however, "from my present point of view, I feel developments such as have occurred in Poland and Hungary are impossible in the GDR."

The emphasis here is on Professor Schmidt's rider "from my present point of view." The replacement of Erich Honecker as GDR head of state and Party leader may herald changes.

Indecision, hesitation where the desire for change is concerned and uncertainty as to the course to take have all been evident in cooperation between GDR enterprises and Western companies.

There is clearly no doubt that much closer cooperation is urgently needed, but the most advanced and most effective form of cooperation, the joint venture widespread in Poland, Hungary and the Soviet Union, continues to be viewed with distaste in East Berlin.

In one respect Professor Schmidt was most guarded on this subject. Joint ventures probably had a future in the GDR, he said, maybe in the 1990s, but they ought not to be the form cooperation mainly took.

Economic planners in the GDR tend to think more in terms of limited-term, ad hoc projects involving very close cooperation in, say, developing products and manufacturing processes that would then be marketed separately.

On the other hand he admitted that the GDR could enact joint venture legislation in next to no time. The academic preliminaries had been practically completed.

But how far can economic reforms be taken without simultaneous political reforms? The Hungarian Trade Minister had this to say:

"We spent 20 years carrying out economic reforms to no effect. We now realise that political and economic reforms are inseparably interlinked.

"Such economic problems as exist cannot be solved without politics, just as political developments can come to grief on economic difficulties."

Soviet economist Oleg Bogomolov was no less forthright in Malente.

"Countries that feel economic reforms can be carried out on their own," he said, "are way behind the times.

"That might have been possible in the early 1960s, but the situation has now changed to such an extent that economic reforms alone are no longer possible."

It was most impressive to hear a GDR economist in Malente, Professor Albert Jugel of Dresden University of Technology, corroborate these claims by his Soviet fellow-economist.

He did so by means of a razor-sharp analysis of the consequences of technology transfer.

His contention was that the exchange of high-quality goods, of know-how and of complex industrial plant, such as is becoming an increasingly urgent necessity in East-West trade is not completed once the goods, documents and blueprints have changed hands.

It also increasingly requires the transfer of management know-how and techniques, the transfer of experience between staff in East and West who work with the same technology and the transfer of qualifications.

In short, it calls for the transfer of responsibility.

The human factor is growing more important for the success of such exchanges. It is increasingly a matter of transferring human properties.

Interdependence increases as a consequence, with the variety, intensity and depth of inter-personal relations growing accordingly.

The political consequences are self-evident. Many bourgeois rights — such as freedom of expression, freedom of travel, freedom of information — become an economic necessity. In other words, new technology exacts political reforms.

Let it be clearly noted in this connection that the West too will have to rethink. The Cocom list of high-tech goods that are not to be exported to the East Bloc on military grounds was criticised with equal vehemence by speakers from East and West.

To cite but one example of the contradictory character of the Western ap-

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

proach, Hungary badly needs a new telephone infrastructure before any further investment is made.

But Western manufacturers are unable to supply the technology because some of the computers and switchgear components are classified as suitable for military use.

Why, several speakers at Malente asked, can arms control measures such as final user certificates, security checks and evidence of the final location of equipment not be used in the non-military sector?

The disintegration of the East Bloc and the widely differing political and economic approaches individual countries are now adopting undeniably make it hard for the West to lend appropriate assistance.

This alone may have been why Federal Economic Affairs Minister Helmut Haussmann encountered understanding in Malente when he sounded a sceptical note about the prospects of a Marshall Plan for all Europe.

As in dealings with developing countries, the strategy can only be a step-by-step approach, judging each case on its individual merits.

Professor Bogomolov of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Moscow was most forthright in turning down any idea of a Marshall Plan.

"We need Western aid, but not in the form of loans," he said. "We simply can't handle them." *Theo Mönch-Tegeder*

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 20 October 1989)

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situation, the influx of immigrants from East Germany, other parts of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and the advent of a Europe of change and competition are all processes which affect the economically active and more rapidly changing sectors of our society to a much greater extent than the stagnating "poorhouses" of the Federal Republic.

This is one of the reasons why the "modernisers" in the conservative union, such as Lothar Späth and Manfred Rommel, are finding it just as difficult to respond to the Republicans as the national and social conservatives, such as Theo Waigel and Edmund Stoiber in Bavaria. Furthermore, this explains why the other strategic conflict in German politics, between "market economists" and "social economists" in the SPD, is so unproductive. If the two biggest parties do not know what they want ...

The coming election year could be characterised by an inconvenient paradox: the distribution of power in Bonn could be decided by the election performance of the Republicans alone.

It is precisely this factor of uncertainty which eludes the influence of traditional party politics.

Robert Leicht

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 27 October 1989)

■ EUROPE 1992

Restructuring and rethinking on all fronts in the limbering-up period

Western Europe's own perestroika is going ahead at full speed. The internal market idea proclaimed by European Commission president Jacques Delors in 1985 may not have generated mass enthusiasm, but industrial and financial executives are all the keener on it.

To paraphrase Marx, it has already become a "material force" the repercussions of which are gradually giving politicians headaches.

The number of mergers and acquisitions is increasing by leaps and bounds. A recent instance was the takeover of Birkel, the well-known family firm of noodle manufacturers, by the French food group BSN of Paris.

The American trade journal *European Deal Review* calculates there to have been 587 mergers and acquisitions by large groups and even medium-sized firms in the first six months of this year.

British, French and US buyers have headed the list, with mergers and acquisitions mainly in Britain, France and the Federal Republic of Germany.

The European Commission in Brussels envisaged some form of precautionary merger control in the European Community some years ago.

But Bonn, London and Paris have stubbornly refused, in protracted sessions of the Council of Ministers, to grant the Eurocrats the necessary powers — even though the process has clearly long got out of hand as far as their national monopolies and merger commissions and corresponding authorities are concerned.

The European Commission is now to be granted a right of consultation and control, but only in respect of mergers involving companies with turnovers of more than DM10bn a year.

Yet there are positive aspects too. Otto Schlecht, secretary of state at the Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry, has described the European Community's 1992 internal market deadline as "five-star fuel for economic growth."

Economic growth this year will have been four per cent, and next year's growth rate is expected to be at least 2.5 to three per cent in the Federal Republic.

Firms in flourishing south Germany are by no means alone in complaining of a shortage of skilled workers and engineers, and while West German exports to the United States and the Third World may be marking time or on the decline, orders from other European Community



countries are increasing rapidly. In particular, orders are fast being placed with the capital goods industry, a sector in which even medium-sized German firms are in many cases almost on their own, unrivalled, as it were.

As M. Delors told the European Parliament in Strasbourg in July, roughly three million new jobs were created throughout the European Community between 1985 and 1987.

This contrasted with nearly two million jobs lost between 1982 and 1984.

By the end of 1990 an estimated five million new jobs will have been created. M. Delors was indirectly patting himself on the back.

The sceptics' surmise that the internal market would merely benefit industrial regions that were already rich does not, as yet, seem to have been borne out.

Spain, as one of the poorest European Community member-countries, reports an unprecedented investment boom and annual economic growth of between five and six per cent.

Britain as an erstwhile loser has been preferred as an internal market location by US and Japanese companies and been able, by virtue of their investment, to reduce its unemployment rate more drastically, in relative terms, than other member-countries.

Portugal, Ireland and Greece are also gaining rather than losing, at least temporarily, from this industrial restructuring of Western Europe.

History alone will show whether and to what extent the massive financial assistance agreed by European Community leaders meeting in Brussels in February 1988 and chaired by German Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, as prime mover, has contributed toward this trend.

The 1992 deadline owed its credibility to the Brussels summit and to the financial and agricultural reform of the Community agreed — by dint of substantial sacrifices on Bonn's part.

The "material force" of the internal market idea has since been in evidence, with executives making ready use of the opportunities available, especially when tax incentives or subsidies were offered in return for relocating production or service facilities.

Dr Schlecht's comment indicates that in the final analysis Bonn's higher contributions toward the cost of running the European Community have been recouped in the form of extra orders.

The European Environmental Office has noted a lack of political control over the sector for which it is responsible.

The swifter pace of industrialisation in Spain and other Mediterranean regions of the Community is reported to have intensified environmental problems there.

Brussels and the national governments in question are said to have done nothing yet to avert the imminent consequences.

Coastlines and beaches choked by seaweed in areas traditionally visited by German holidaymakers are merely the latest proof of this contention.

Northern Italy has long been comparable with the south of the Federal Republic as an industrial region, yet its financial and industrial centre, Milan, still runs domestic sewage unfiltered into the River Po.

Baltic and North Sea pollution, for which Eastern European states are partly to blame, rightly upsets northerners in the European Community, but the consequences of the internal market pose an even more serious threat to Mediterranean holiday resorts.

It is untrue, on the other hand, that all bodes ill for West German consumers in the single European market, such as adulterated beer and sausages or hormone-polluted veal.

Admittedly, the thorough German authorities have unearthed the most striking scandals among north German cattle breeders keen to make an easy profit.

South Germany, incidentally, has its fair share of skeletons in this particular cupboard. In August the municipal authorities in Munich discovered that their abattoir was in such poor hygienic condition that it stood to forfeit its European Community licence. They promptly decided to invest DM13m in remedying this state of affairs.

The Federal Republic can certainly not afford to throw stones at others. There are more cases pending against Bonn at the European Court of Justice than against any other member-government for having failed to implement environmental guidelines long since agreed by the Community.

More jobs, lower prices for consumers and an overall decline in taxation were forceast in a report on the likely results of the internal market compiled for the European Commission.

It is already clear that some of these forecasts were accurate. Others cannot be proved one way or the other because the 12 member-governments as political decision-makers have long lagged hopelessly behind developments.

In the past three years the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament have industriously approved 279 Community guidelines designed to govern the "four freedoms" of the internal market.

These four are free trade in goods, services and capital and freedom of movement — and to set up in business — for citizens of, and companies domiciled in, all Community countries.

Sixty-nine of these guidelines ought by now to be in force in all member-countries, but as Euro-MP Karl von Wogau recently noted, national parliaments are failing to enact them on schedule.

Bonn is one of the worst offenders, with 47 items backlogged in the Bundestag and the Bundesrat, whereas Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece have a much better track record.

The worst present *obstacle to meeting* the 1992 deadline is the reluctance of the 12 Finance Ministers to harmonise value-added tax and customs and excise duties.

The need to harmonise tax rates to ensure internal market conditions has been self-evident for years, yet European Community financial experts have only now got round to making emergency arrangements.

They are intended to end tax checks at borders within the European Community, but they stand to create even more paperwork than already exists.

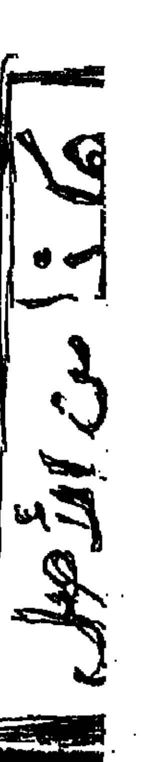
Commercial and industrial associations can be expected *to bring pressure* to bear on heads of government to deliver the goods as promised — in this case the internal market. In international terms all 12 member-states have undoubtedly gained in stature by setting themselves the internal market target.

US newspapers and the Japanese media are sounding little short of an alarm about what Western Europe may soon be able to manage. The European Airbus, available in a steadily growing number of versions, will soon be almost *the only* alternative to US airliners, and the Third World is thankful to be *able to* bargain and to beat prices down.

The Soviet Union *is no longer seen by* even Eastern European states as the sole supplier of civil aviation hardware.

In the superchip market Western European manufacturers such as Philips and Siemens are competing with Japanese and US firms.

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■ ECONOMIC CRYSTAL BALL

World-wide expansion set to slow down; 3 per cent domestic growth

The world economy will continue to expand next year, but more slowly than this year, according to the five leading economic research institutes from Berlin, Essen, Hamburg, Kiel and Munich, in their autumn report. They say the inorease should be 5 per cent compared with this year's 8 per cent.

There are signs that the tempo will vary from country to country. In the US, Canada and Britain it will be slower but in most countries in Western Europe and Japan it will increase as briskly as before.

According to the institutes their economies will be considerably stimulated by investment by industry.

In the United States economic growth has levelled off. In the summer half year economic production only increased at an annual rate of two per cent; last year it amounted to 3.5 per cent.

Next year the real gross national product should expand between 1.5 to two per cent.

The increase in the social product will only be a little greater than that of domestic demand. The 1989 deficit on the balance of the current account, which amounted to about $127bn in 1988, will only decline a little this year and next.

The inflation rate for 1989 will be about five per cent and just slightly less in 1990.

The powerful economic upswing has continued in Japan but the increase in the gross national product will not be quite so steep next year.

The average annual rate for 1990 will amount to about four per cent: this year it will be 4.5 per cent. The upward trend of prices will be slightly accelerated by the continuing slackening off in the economy.

The inflation rate for consumer goods will be approximately 2.5 per cent on a yearly average, that is not higher than this year in which the figure was exaggerated by the value-added tax effect.

The surplus on current account in 1989 will be $70bn, slightly lower than in the previous year. It will drop even more in 1990.

The increase in production in Western Europe, apparent in the summer half of the year, will continue rapidly on a broader basis. The increase in investment will continue to rise steeply because of continuously favourable sales and earnings capacities. Industrial capacities are being used to the full, as in the boom at the beginning of the 1970s.

There has been an increase in employment in Western Europe as a result of the rapid increase in production. This has opened up jobs so that the unemployment figure has dropped noticeably.

According to the institutes the unemployment figure in most countries is rather high. Nevertheless, with variations of degree in the different countries, there is a shortage of skilled workers.

Economic expansion in Western Europe will continue at a moderate tempo. The real gross national product should increase to a good 2.5 per cent in 1990 after almost 3.5 per cent in 1989.

Employment will not increase quite so quickly. The increase in prices should continue at the current rate of about 4.5 per cent.

World trade should increase by five per cent next year compared with eight per cent this year. Exports have been the driving force in the German economy this year. In the first half, exports increased at an annual rate of 15 per cent.

But there were obvious signs that the rate of increase had slowed by mid-year, but it is still considerable. This year's exports in real terms increased by 12 per cent compared with the previous year, much more steeply than domestic demand.

The increase in the export surplus has been concentrated in trade with EC countries. There has been a clear drop in the export surplus with the US, primarily as a result of the subdued American economy.

This year the current account surplus has increased by DM25bn to DM110bn.

The export of goods in real terms will increase further next year. But the tempo of increase of foreign demand will be noticeably reduced with restrained economic development among the industrialised countries.

It can be expected that the external value of the deutschemark will remain more or less constant.

The Federal Republic's international competitive position will remain favourable for some time. The increase in exports will result from investment undertaken by the Federal Republic's European neighbours.

On an annual average the rate of increase of exports will be halved, but the current rate of increase will lessen only to a slight extent.

Exports to the US will not increase much, because American domestic demand is inclined to be weak. Exports to the OPEC countries will only increase slightly.

As previously, high indebtedness will hamper the expansion of exports to other developing countries.

Exports to communist countries should increase slightly because of the political changes in some of the states and additional credits, which will create an increased demand for imports.

According to the report by the institutes, economic expansion in the Federal Republic, resulting in a high utilisation of capacities in many sectors, will mean that exports in real terms will increase markedly in 1990, even if at a somewhat more limited tempo than previously.

Tax relief, which comes into effect at the beginning of 1990, will mean an increase in the import of consumer goods.

All in all imports in real terms in 1990 will increase more steeply than exports. Nevertheless the surplus on exports will hardly be reduced at all.

The surplus in the balance on current account will be rather higher in 1990 than it is this year.

(Die Welt, Bonn, 23 October 1989)

Autumn reports 1989
of the economic research institutes

	1988	1989	1990
Growth in %	+3.6	+4	+3
Unemployment in millions	2.24	2.03	2.0
Price rises in %	+1.2	+3	+3

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Unemployment is unlikely to decline next year, says the autumn report of the five leading economic research institutes. They say this is because of the flood of refugees.

It is assumed that there will be 320,000 newly employed next year. The average unemployment figure for the year will be around the two million mark. At the end of this year there will be 340,000 newly employed.

The institutes expect that economic growth in 1990 will be between 2.5 and 3.5 per cent. They see a final growth rate for 1989 of 4 per cent, in line with the Economic Affairs Ministry estimate.

Matthias Wissmann, CDU/CSU spokesman for economic affairs in the Bundestag, also believes growth will be 4 per cent for 1989 after a rate of 4.6 per cent in the first half.

He said unemployment would probably rise by more than 300,000 next year.

A growth rate of three per cent in 1990 would depend on "responsible wage negotiations" between employers and employees."

Static jobless

The institutes' estimate of 4 per cent growth this year is an upward adjustment of their original estimate of 3 per cent in the spring report.

The Bonn government has also, step by step, increased its predictions of GNP growth from 2.5 per centin January to "about 4 per cent."

The institutes say there will be a levelling off of the world economy and a slight increase in interest rates next year. Prices will rise slightly.

Inflation, at 3 per cent, would be slighty up on than 1989, but the institutes do not see this as endangering price stability.

They see no significance in the recent turmoil on the stock exchanges, attributing it to "psychologically-induced stock exchange panic."

Rents will raise slightly in 1990, according to the economic experts. It is assumed that there will be an average price increase of three per cent.

The institutes' economic analyses coincide with the analysis presented by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Paris.

The organisation reported to Bonn in the middle of the year that there would be a slight drop in the economy in line with the world economy, after a "fat 1989" with a growth rate of four per cent.

The five leading economic research institutes review the economy each spring and autumn.

They are the Deutsche Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, Berlin, the Ifo-Institut in Munich, the HWWA-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (Hamburg), the Kiel Institut für Weltwirtschaft and the Rheinisch-Westfälische Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung in Essen.

dpa

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 23 October 1989)

Who the experts are

The economic research institutes, together with the Board of Experts for the Assessment of Overall Economic Trends, which have just produced their traditional autumn report on the economy, make up the most respected advisory committee in the economy.

Their reports, presented in the spring and the autumn, offer a review of the current position of the economy and a prognosis of economic developments in the current and subsequent years.

The institutes are the "brace" bringing together economic thinking and practice.

Their individual publications, apart from economic and growth analyses, include assessments of structural developments of the economy and special reports. They are highly regarded in political and industrial circles.

The five institutes which contribute to the traditional economic review in the spring and autumn are: the Ifo-Institute (the Munich-based Economic Research Institute), the Berlin-based German Institute for Economic Research (known by its German initials DIW), the Rhenish-Westphalian Institute for Economic Research (RWI), Essen, the HWWA-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, Hamburg and the Institute for the World Economy attached to Kiel University.

Continued from page 1

Even a turning-point opportunistically proclaimed by the SED can bring people in the GDR substantial gains and improvements.

They include individual freedom to travel, changes in political offences as part of criminal law and a greater degree of rule of law and constitutional government.

So does the running of the economic system in accordance with the wishes and needs of the people.

People in the GDR would continue not to enjoy a fundamental human right if they had to go on living with an illegitimate leadership, as it were, leaders who simply refused to stand for election in a free and democratic poll.

If such elections were held, the German Question might arise again.

One can but hope that by then an all-European framework will have taken shape, encouraged by the irreversibility of democratisation in Hungary and Poland and by the growing self-assurance of these countries.

May it be a framework in which the German Question can be handled and solved by East and West in a spirit of cooperation.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 29 October 1989)

■ **BUSINESS**

Firm aims to link work and pleasure for employees



A description of the way the Nuremberg flooring company Rainer M. Megerle operates sounds like a Social Democrat fairy-tale.

The workforce actively participates in the running of the company. Workers themselves arrange the distribution of their jobs where possible.

They decided on the equipment for a fitness centre and a creche in a new building owned by the firm. They also have a right to a say in their pay and conditions.

They are motivated by generous subsidiary benefits such as a year's subscription to the Nuremberg football club, free courses at a special dieting clinic, a laundry and shopping service owned by the company and special homeopathic medicines against the cold weather.

The successful company owner does not stint on cost or effort to keep his 34 employees in a good mood and encourage them to well-above-average job performance.

The point of his motivation management is to link work to pleasure, and Rainer Megerle is convinced that "what I give out I get back many times over."

Not everyone goes along with this kind of wisdom. Some businessmen and managers attending the Munich Management Forum to discuss "Ethically Motivated Management" laughed at him.

Astonishingly, the company's competitivity depends more and more on the attitude of the workers to their job and this attitude has changed over the past few years.

The reason for this is the change of values with the trend towards individualism and self-determination.

Instead of mechanically doing their jobs workers want now to be better informed and have more opportunities to participate in the functioning of their companies.

They are no longer satisfied in just knowing what the company produces. They want to know what moral concepts are involved with their work and whether their work takes into consideration the consequences of their activities.

Ethical action becomes more and more a matter of consideration for the survival of a successful company.

Economic efficiency, long regarded as sufficient for the legitimation of commercial decisions, is no longer enough. Many companies have had to re-think their positions radically.

Ethics, the theory of moral behaviour, are mainly regarded as a restriction of economic efficiency, standing in the way of economic success. Today it is now a matter of overcoming the polarity of ethics and economics.

Research has long shown that this was never so strong. Standards and values have been a consideration even in decisions which appear to have been made with just economic calculations in mind.

The aim of the discussion on ethics must be to make clear the standards and values which guide commerce and industry, making them fundamental targets and ways of behaviour, and have them firmly established in the company's thinking.

Professor Ulrich Steger, of the institute for ecology and business management, attached to the European Business School in Oestrich-Winkel, could see ways of limiting unethical practices by companies. Professor Steger was once SPD Economic Affairs Minister in Hesse.

He saw these opportunities, for example, in more open corporate legal structures. This would give everyone concerned a legal demand for open policies as regards information within the company and externally. There should also be the opportunity to revise company decisions so that decisions which were seen to be having a negative effect could always be corrected.

Professor Steger advised companies to begin dialogue with the general public in good time, long before legal measures were enacted to limit their room for manoeuvre, following the example of environmental protection.

"Anyone who wants to maintain his room for action must ensure that his arguments are not only grounded in economic but also in ethical considerations," he said.

Ludwig Reichart, personnel manager at the Dingolfing plant of car manufacturers' BMW, advised active participation by companies in the discussion on standards. At the beginning of the 1980s BMW began to develop jointly with management a changed moral concept, adjusted to management ethics.

Since them BMW management has had to adhere to 13 points along the lines of, for example, achievement calls for counter-achievement.

Herr Reichart openly admitted that there had been difficulties in introducing the new ideas. He said: "We are still in the re-thinking process."

The work of personnel departments was important here. Managers had to have personal responsibility. Managers of the future will take part in interviews with new workers and will sign work contracts as an indication of their co-responsibility.

Rainer Liebig, chairman of the electrical engineering company NCR GmbH, Augsburg, said that "happy" workers were the best indication of the importance a company gave to values.

He regarded as a component of ethically-motivated management the participation of workers in practical matters. This meant that management and workers at NCR sat down together to draw up job descriptions. On the basis of these annual targets were agreed.

Herr Liebig regarded as of fundamental importance for genuine worker participation in management frank communication between management and workers on the aims and financial results of the company, as well as regular anonymous worker questionnaires which could provide objective information on workers' satisfaction.

Walter Conrad, head of the social affairs department at Siemens in Munich, dealt with social affairs information as an instrument for worker management.

He said that a clear view of what happened in the company and its commercial activities were important requirements for identification with a company. People were asking more and more about the meaning of the work they did.

"The technical-economic success of a company was not viable in the long term without society's acceptance," a company acquired this by accepting its responsibilities to society.

Siemens believes that only "informed workers are good and responsible workers." The company tries in any number of individual activities to make the workers more aware of the economic, technical and social influences which affect the company, and to encourage workers to discuss this with their friends and acquaintances.

If Karl Jörg Wohlhüter, head of the economic and social affairs department at Bavarian Radio in *Munich, is* right, the Siemens strategy *overlooks the realities.*

According to *Herr* Wohlhüter, 80 per cent of the population are not open to economic and political information; they just want to be entertained.

In his speech ending the forum Daniel Goeudevert, the new VW board of management member, said that managers must become more human and be concerned for a balance between understanding and feeling, following the precepts of humanism. The prime task of managers is to set an example to workers of their personal integrity and reliability.

The time of empty words is passed said Herr Goeudevert, for *"workers are* not as dumb as managers believe. They sense what is honestly *meant."*

Bärbel Schwertfeger

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 21 October 1989)

Switched off

Managers are all in favour of the extensive use of computers — but not at their own desks.

Professor Detlef Müller-Böling from Dortmund surveyed 1,500 German managers and found that fewer than 30 per cent use a computer terminal and only four per cent use the electronic post for transmitting data.

The reason was that two-thirds confessed to having too little knowledge about modern technology. They also regarded as working at a computer screen as below them.

This antagonism to new technology is not just a German phenomenon. Studies in Scandinavia and the US came up with similar results. *dpa*

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 23 October 1989)

Employer lobby looks back over 40 years

The Federation of German Industry (BDI) was established in October 1949 as an employers' lobbying organisation in the post-war period. It has become a pressure group with the courage to take up a position on sensitive matters and, hopefully, set about finding solutions to industry's problems.

The Federation of German Industry did not make a great fuss at its 40th anniversary, although it is one of the most powerful organisations in the economy.

The Federation emerged from the ruins of the post-war era in October 1949 and now includes 34 national, industrial organisations which include more than 500 specialist and *Land* associations.

Headquartered in Cologne, it represents 80,000 private companies of various size employing a total of seven million. This is about a quarter of Germany's workforce.

The present president, Tyll Necker, like the legendary founder president, Fritz Berg, is an active businessman of a medium-sized company. But in their policies there could not be a greater difference of approach.

Berg was famous for his "direct line" with Chancellor Konrad Adenauer.

He obligingly confirmed the widely-held prejudices, which people held about *the* businessman, in the way he feuded with Economic Affairs Minister Ludwig Erhard about monopolies legislation, of all things, the basis of free market economics.

His style of lobbying moulded the federation's public image more markedly and lastingly than can be pleasant to Tyll Necker and his managing director, Siegfried Mann.

There has been a change in the way of doing things, but a change in public opinion has only come about with time.

There is no doubting that since Tyll Necker took over his honorary presidency there has been a greater readiness to tackle sensitive themes. The federation has taken up a clear position on such matters as environmental protection, energy, subsidies and telecommunications.

The significance of the social system has increased. The system takes up arms against lobby interests more frequently than before.

Reference would be made to the differing interests of federation members to anyone suggesting that the federation should be more active in conflicts.

Associations have a difficult time, leading organisations have it just a little bit more difficult. Cases can be observed in Bonn where the fine threads of differing interests bind the BDI as was Gulliver, irrespective of the many objective possibilities for the exertion of influence on political, and particularly on economic decisions.

Lobbying is legitimate. The more cool, the more impartial it is the greater its chances for success in the tense field of the economy which, as a sign of growing affluence, is more strongly influenced by social questions than economic considerations.

Energy and environmental protection are possibly two outstanding examples of this, but in no way the *only ones.*

One of the BDI's important *tasks is to* be responsible for industry's public image. The federation is *better suited to* this than the other *major leading organisation*, DIHT, *the standing* conference of chambers of commerce and industry, with its compulsory membership.

Effective PR demands being an opinion leader. This involves tackling matters and not just jumping on the bandwagon.

This happened in the discussion of the Federal Republic as a location for industry, although accusations of being a killjoy and spoiling one's own nest were raised, unjustly as it happens.

Attention was given in time to structural weaknesses in industry. Furthermore the BDI had ideas about environmental protection in a free market economy long before the political parties began haggling about them.

It is idiotic that this controversial pioneering role has remained unrevealed to a wider public.

Is there a lack of courage to tackle new solutions which could have decisively improved the free market image of the federation? An organisation representing specific interests must from time to time also be a brake.

The organisation is looking ahead to even more success in its 5th decade under new leadership.

Heinz Heck

(Die Welt, Bonn, 19 October 1989)

■ **HOUSING**

A shortage puts a policy back on the agenda

The housing shortage, a shortage mainly of low-rent apartments, is not due solely to the unexpectedly high number of asylum applicants, refugees from the GDR and ethnic German migrants from Eastern Europe. The problem has been around for longer, as the 1987 census figures show.

The Five Wise Men, as the panel of economic advisers to the Bonn Federal government are known, got their 1985/86 figures badly wrong.

In their annual survey for that year they wrote, under the heading "abolition of subsidies," that the state ought to end virtually all forms of incentive to build new housing.

"Given the widespread housing market saturation," they wrote, "housebuilding subsidies — of whatever kind and granted by whomsoever — are extremely problematic in that they intensify future market imbalances or create new ones."

In the government's economic report for 1986 this viewpoint was endorsed unconditionally as being the acme of market economics.

The process of adaptation to a "lasting change in the structure of demand" in the building sector was said not yet to have been completed.

"The state must not hold up this indispensable process of structural change and could not do so for good."

Yet preparations to build extra housing would have had to begin then if today's housing shortage was to have been forestalled. There is a natural lag of several years between planning new apartment blocks and completing them so that tenants can move in. One reason why these preparations were not undertaken is, arguably, that even the guardians of the grail of market economics did not really feel market forces would be entirely successful in the housing sector. In farming there is the pig cycle, according to which pig breeding is neglected when pork is fetching low prices.

Once supplies run short, prices rise again. Many farmers start breeding more pigs. Then there is too much pork in the market. And so on.

Housing has followed much the same trend in the 1980s. Once sitting tenants were less secure, housebuilding was felt by many investors to be a more attractive proposition. That led in the mid-1980s to a substantial housing surplus, empty apartments, lower prices and even lower new rents.

Housing stockpiles — in the negative sense — made headline news when Neue Heimat, the trade union-owned housing group, floundered as thousands of its apartments failed to find tenants.

A general population decline was forecast, which didn't make the outlook look any the more promising.

Anyone who had called for heavy government investment in housing at that stage would have been felt to be as mad as a hatter and not been taken seriously as a housing policymaker.

So the Five Wise Men cannot be so roundly condemned for their views on the subject.

But the situation soon changed. The much-maligned 1987 census revealed that there were 26.3 million homes, one million fewer than had been assumed.

This shortfall was due partly to demolition, partly to conversion into offices, and the assumed population decline failed to trigger a decline in demand.

The immediate effect — of baby boom school-leavers — was an even brisker demand for new homes.

These school-leavers have since finished job training or are university students. Many are settling down and marrying.

Higher incomes enable many tenants to look around for somewhere larger to live. More and more apartments are occupied by singles.

They have all been joined by migrants and refugees. Between them they make the situation explosive.

There is no way in which the existing housing stock can be increased in the short term, but reserves that are not let to tenants can naturally be mobilised.

That is the latest programme of incentives for extra conversions in existing buildings is aimed at, but it won't be enough.

Housing is in such short supply that there have been demands for greater security for sitting tenants, but that is a short-term disincentive for potential investors and of long-term disadvantage to tenants.

The best safeguard for tenants, as the post-1982 Bonn government put it, was to build more housing. This claim was borne out in the mid-1980s.

Housebuilding has now regained its attraction for investors, as is reflected in more planning permits being issued and more business for the building industry.

But housebuilding takes time, and bottlenecks are bound to continue until these new homes have been built — no matter how much money the government invests in housing programmes.

Besides, the government simply doesn't have that much cash at its disposal, and stimulated demand would push up prices charged by a construction industry that has cut back capacity in recent lean years.

Even so, the Federal government has reversed its ill-advised decision to pull out of social housing entirely. Housing policy has come back into its own in Bonn, which is just as well.

Bernd Knebel

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 20 October 1989)

The new German housing shortage

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Annual increase in number of homes in 1,000	330	240	180	150	140	160
Annual increase in number of private households in 1,000	270	300	260	240	330	460
					estimate	estimate

7940 © Globus

Demand fuelled by migrants, one-person households

Politicians everywhere are outdoing each other at present in spending billions to "seed" housing construction. Whether, one, they will succeed and, two, tenants will derive any benefit is most uncertain.

One point is clear. Housebuilding programmes will only benefit a post-1991 government. It may take only a day or two to draw up a housing programme but building new homes takes at least two years.

In the general excitement it would be as well to take a level-headed look at the situation.

How good (or bad) is the housing supply? Why and where do bottlenecks exist? What can be done about them?

In the final analysis one must consider whether the provision of housing is not a social obligation in the sense that provision is made, and made as a social commitment, for age, ill-health and unemployment.

According to the last census there were roughly 26 million households chasing roughly 26 million homes on 25 May 1987.

No-one knows what the situation is now, urgently though figures might be needed. Experts generally seem to feel there is a shortage of between 500,000 and 800,000 homes.

That corresponds to between two and three per cent of the entire housing stock or the number of new homes built in two to three years. These figures should suffice to show that there is no comparable market in which *such slight shifts in* demand can have such a striking effect. Where does this demand come from? The influx of refugees from the GDR and ethnic German migrants from Eastern Europe are usually cited, but other factors are crucial. The two main factors are that people are earning more money and want to live in greater comfort and that more and more people are living on their own. The number of "single" households has doubled in a couple of decades. Young people who can no longer stand life at their parental home aim for a home of their own, not just a room.

There are cities where single-person households are in the majority. Regional bottlenecks occur too. As everyone wants to live where many others already do, prices and rents inevitably soar.

Even if tens of thousands of low-rent apartments were to suddenly materialise in, say, Munich or Stuttgart, they would be taken immediately, leaving the waiting list even longer. In the short term young couples with children will derive no consolation, but the fact remains that housing standards and supply in the Federal Republic of Germany are probably the best in Europe, Switzerland possibly excepted.

On average, per capita housing space is 37 square metres, and average monthly rents are between five and six marks per square metre.

That, again, will fail to soothe flat-hunters who report that the average price of asking is twice that much. But rent subsidies can soften the blow.

What, then, is the situation? According to a poll conducted at the end of August and the beginning of September an amazing 95 per cent of Germans questioned felt their personal housing situation was from "satisfactory" to "very good."

Only four per cent rated it "on the bad side" and one per cent "bad."

Asked about the housing situation in general, a majority feel it is abysmal (to be precise, 48 per cent "bad" or "on the bad side" and 30 per cent "part bad, part good").

These answers were given by the same people who, for the most part, felt personally satisfied. That, at least, is a point on which they must be assumed to know their own minds.

Politicians, however, are mistrustful of people's personal assessment of their situation. They feel there is a general housing shortage and infer that action is needed.

Yet the building industry is working flat out. Market pointers are most encouraging. After years of unwanted housing (unwanted at the price of asking, that is,) higher rents have prompted fresh investment.

Were the state to add fuel to the fire, it would merely pave the way for even higher prices in the building industry.

The lion's share of new housing is built by private investors. They would be deterred again if rent controls were to be reintroduced, as all parties are now considering in one form or another.

Red tape still seriously impedes the designation of building land.

The call is for more social housing, which in Germany generally means low-interest loans in return for low rents.

Each apartment subsidised in this way costs the state between DM100,000 and DM120,000.

These subsidies are often subject to seepage or simply benefit undeserving tenants, as demonstrated by the rent surcharge paid by social housing tenants who earn above the prescribed limit.

What is more, interestingly enough, less than half the funds earmarked for social housing has so far been allocated.

The solution must surely be to activate housing stock that is lying fallow.

Millions of apartments are not put out to rent. They include upstairs flats in private homes ("granny flats" built partly on tax grounds), holiday apartments and unconverted lofts and attics.

Many potential landlords don't need the rent income, while others feel it isn't enough to be a sufficient incentive to let, especially as sitting tenants are hard to dislodge.

Yet these are significant reserves that need to be activated, and what the state should be doing is to provide safe long-term framework conditions to attract the private investor, who happens to be the most successful investor by far. This is a promising approach, as is shown by the resurgence of interest in house ownership and the fact that most families with children live in homes of their own.

Constant investment programmes give rise to hopes that cannot be fulfilled and merely "seed" the next surplus but one.

A society that saves as industriously as Germany's — and spends more on holidays and motoring than on housing — can hardly define the roof over its head as a social obligation. *Peter Gillies*

(Die Welt, Bonn, 17 October 1989)

■ FILMS

Fateful seven minutes that saved Hitler

Frankfurter Allgemeine
ZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

Klaus Maria Brandauer is not only the star but also the director of *Georg Elser — Einer aus Deutschland,* which will be released internationally as *Seven Minutes.*

The film deals with one of the 42 attempts made on Hitler's life, an attempt which failed by seven minutes.

The scene is a sunny autumn day in 1938 in a crowded Munich beer-garden. Suddenly the sirens wail. People assume it is a practice air-raid warning.

They hurry to the air-raid shelter and no one seems to notice what the cellar implies. There is a notice saying that smoking is strictly forbidden, painted on the white-washed wall, showing that directions are in existence for something dramatic. The horrendous war is approaching in an incredibly peaceful atmosphere.

There is one person who does not notice, who seems not to know that orders must be obeyed. He simply remains seated, continuing to drink his beer.

Only later is it shown that he is the only guest in Munich's Bürgerbräukeller who knew what was coming, the only one who did not go along with the situation.

The Bürgerbräukeller is an historical place. On 8 November 1923 Adolf Hitler set out on his march to Berlin, which temporarily ended at Munich's Feldherrnhalle.

Ever since he made it to Berlin in 1933 he returned every year on 8 November to the Bürgerbräukeller to remind his veterans of the "Movement" of the great days and to put them in the mood for great times to come.

On 8 November 1939, at 21.20 hours, the building was ripped apart by a bomb. Six of Hitler's "old comrades" and a waitress died in the explosion.

Hitler, who had ended his speech earlier than expected, had left the beer-hall a few minutes before.

The first film Klaus Maria Brandauer has directed deals with those "seven minutes." The script was written by Stephen Sheppard from his novel *The Artisan,* which tells the story of the would-be assassin, Georg Elser, the part played by Brandauer himself.

If it were not for the seven minutes Elser would have saved the Reich from tyranny. It is hard to believe that it was not an assassin's error, which saved Hitler's life, but an accident.

The only alternative to the Nazi propaganda lie that Providence had saved Hitler's life could only be that the whole course of history was accidental.

Experts have looked deeply into Elser's life, hoping to find a deep motive.

If it were possible to regard him as an eccentric, or even as an agent of the Gestapo, one could fall back on the comforting assumption that the attempt on Hitler's life should have, or ought to have, failed.

In making this film Brandauer was aided by some renowned people from the film world. Ungar Lajos Koltai was responsible for the camera work — he photographed the Oscar-winning *Mephisto.* Dagmar Hirtz was responsible for cutting.

The film is a success because it totally avoids illuminating the career of this man, Elser, but nevertheless making it clear that his life-story had a meaning.

Why Georg Elser realised that Hitler had to be killed is never explained in the film. Elser never expresses himself out loud, he has no friends in whom he confides.

Kaufmann, played by Vadim Glowna, an acquaintance, supplies him with parts for a detonator and explosives, but he is not told what he probably suspects.

Under Gestapo interrogation the real Elser said that the worsened situation of the working class had driven him to his act.

From 1823 he had constantly voted communist, but he was not a member of the party. The film does not refer to any of this.

Brandauer's Elser is a fictional character, but not entirely unhistorical.

Before he begins thinking about assassinating Hitler, he sees the Gestapo pick up a neighbouring Jewish family — but the film does not hint that there is a link between this and his plot to kill Hitler.

In his play *Johann Georg Elser* of 1982, Peter Paul Zahl depicted Elser, who came from Swabia, as a forerunner of urban guerillas.

Brandauer's Elser does not decide overnight to take action which would give him a place in history. He is simply a person who does the right thing, while everyone else is in the wrong, who remains seated, although all the others stand up. He is a loner, while everyone else is a fellow-traveller.

British historian Joseph Peter Stern has called Elser Hitler's real antagonist. He came from the same social background as Hitler, but he lived in quite a different moral world to the Führer. Brandauer is clever enough never to have Elser's opponent appear. He is represented by his arm, held high, and the arms of others raised towards him in the Nazi salute.

There is no need to report once more on the horror of National Socialism; it is so obvious that Hitler is the one who must die.

The scene in which Elser sees Hitler in a newsreel with his face twisted in shock is almost exaggerated. But at the time it was hard to avoid seeing Hitler's face, which the film for good reasons rarely shows.

But the effect is not exaggerated in the more drastic scenes in which Elser is abused and humiliated by the Storm Troopers in a toilet, because he will not make the Nazi salute. The dictatorship here displays its grotesque face.

Continued on page 11

Bomb plot script a challenge for Klaus Maria Brandauer

***Georg Elser — Einer aus Deutschland* is the first film which Austrian actor Klaus Maria Brandauer has directed. It will soon be released internationally with the title *Seven Minutes.* It is based on the novel, *The Artisan,* by Stephen Sheppard, who wrote the film script. It deals with an authentic attempt on Hitler's life in 1938. Carla Rhode spoke to Klaus Maria Brandauer about his film. Brandauer, who is a member of the Burgtheater in Vienna, has until now only directed in the theatre.**

What was your prime concern in directing this film? Was it the intention to direct a film at last or the urge to adapt the Georg Elser material for the cinema?

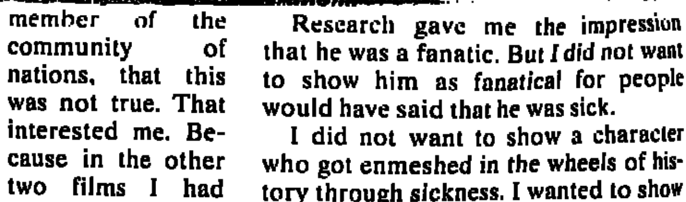
I have for a long time had in mind the idea of directing a film in the same way that, parallel to my career as an actor, I have directed plays in the theatre.

Why did you select this material? Don't you feel too familiar with the period after the Mephisto and Hanussen films?

After the shooting of *Hanussen* two years ago I said that my need to deal with the past was over. I wanted to devote myself to other themes.

But I had been interested in the Georg Elser story for years. I came across a paperback, which dealt with the murder of tyrants and described among other things the 42 attempts on Hitler's life.

The description of the attempt made by Georg Elser, a simple labourer, not very well educated and not very well informed, hit me between the eyes. He was the sole person to observe in 1938, perhaps, when Germany was acknowledged abroad and it was thought that Germany was a full member of the community of nations, that this was not true. That interested me. Because in the other two films I had tried to play characters who were in the aura of power, it was interesting for me to portray a man from the lowest level of society and indicate the psychology behind his act. *Did you yourself want to direct the film and take on the main part, or was this a condition of the producers?* There were conditions. I know that it is not an ideal situation, but on this occasion I dared to do it. But even if I had believed I was not up to it, I would have taken the risk, for, putting it quite plain, I wanted to direct a film.



The simple labourer at work ... Brandauer as Elser surveys his handiwork. (Photo: Senator Film)

Georg Elser is not an opportunist like Höfgen in Mephisto, not a conformist like Colonel Redl, and not a person who wanted to preserve his individuality like Hanussen, but a person who resists. Did you want to play a positive character?

I realise that we assess characters positively or negatively on the grounds of definite facets of the plot. But I am interested in characters in a state of change, from hot to cold as it were, of the dark and bright sides of their character. People who are either good or evil are not very interesting.

It is exciting to play ambivalence, which can be altered by character structure and place in society, independent of one's own powers and will.

I don't see Elser so positively, for seven people met their death and not the one person he was aiming for. We know that radical change demands blood, but I have difficulties at this point because I am of the view that radical social change should not cost a single individual his life.

But Elser does not go through any conflicts in your film. From the very beginning we see him as unflustered as he makes his bomb, indifferent about whether people will be killed or not.

Naturally he cannot tell anyone what he has decided to do, since he is completely alone. He is in a dialogue with himself, however. That is a very passive stance for a character in a film to take up. If you do not sense that the thought continuously on his mind is: "Should I, or should I not?" if you do not sense this quiet battle within him, then I have not achieved my purpose.

That is not seen until the scene in which he learns that his fiancée will be endangered by the assassination. Otherwise it seems that he has sorted things out with himself, that his political task is more important than any private consideration.

Research gave me the impression that he was a fanatic. But I did not want to show him as fanatical for people would have said that he was sick.

I did not want to show a character who got enmeshed in the wheels of history through sickness. I wanted to show him has a conscious, calculating person who resisted. I regard it as something great when one throws down one's life, one's private sphere for such a task.

It is tragic that the labourer Esler was completely forgotten: in contrast to the generals and colonels who were in the resistence and who always stand in the public gaze because of their spectacular position.

Was your most important purpose in this film to snatch Georg Elser from oblivion?

Yes, but I was not only involved in the authentic character and an analysis of his times. The Nazi period is the background. I was interested in the criminal case of Georg Elser, the thriller element of Georg Elser and the tender love relationships. The tension of the drama comes from the fact that it was an historical assassination attempt.

What do you think of the situation of the German, or rather the German-language film? Your Seven Minutes is a co-production with the US. Was that really necessary?

In our case yes, because half of the budget came from American sources. But in any case in a few years the English-language film will be the film which we shall see.

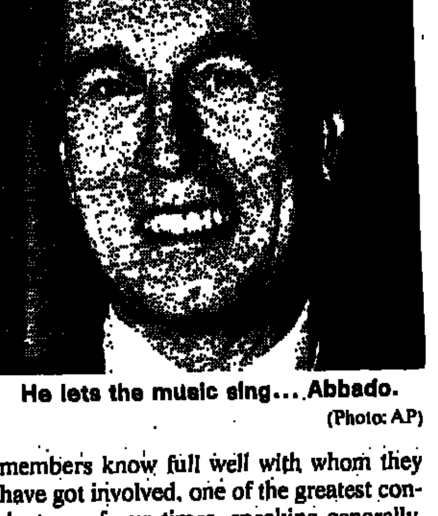
We have ourselves to blame for this development, because we wanted to get into international markets. Just reaching a German-language public means saying goodbye to career, no longer having any great influence.

Carla Rhode

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 22 October 1989)

■ THE ARTS

Italian conductor succeeds von Karajan



He lets the music sing... Abbado. (Photo: AP)

The members of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra have given the music world a considerable, and pleasant, surprise in electing Claudio Abbado, 56, to be the orchestra's chief conductor.

The orchestra's future with Abbado will not be a future full of opposition, as many sceptics have said it would be.

In electing Abbado the orchestra has acknowledged his concentrated work and considerable musicianship: the aim is to add to the eras dominated by Bülow, Nikisch, Furtwängler and von Karajan, a fifth which is just as brilliant.

It is true that Claudio Abbado has emerged from a sinister list of candidates of the past few months, but this list did not mean much, because it included almost all the top dozen world class conductors on the concert circuit today.

Rumours put other names further up the list than Abbado's. There was, for instance, the Dutch conductor Bernhard Haitnik, with whom the orchestra has worked agreeably. Or the American maestro James Levine, who was favoured the most by the media.

The speculators underestimated basically the seriousness and the ethos of the Philharmonic. They assumed that the members of the orchestra were primarily concerned with a quiet, or bearable, solution to the question of von Karajan's successor.

Belatedly the orchestra can ask itself what it had done to deserve such a reputation. There were no grounds for it, which the election of Abbado shows supremely.

Four months after Herbert von Karajan gave up his post, the orchestra is agreed that they must take a course thinking of the future.

There has been no talk of offering Abbado a contract for life, which was offered to previous chief conductors, after the painful experience of the last years of Karajan's tenure of office. But Abbado is young enough to establish his own era lasting several decades.

Since Abbado is not unknown to the orchestra — he has been a guest conductor for years — this means that errors of judgment can be excluded. No, the orchestra members know full well with whom they have got involved, one of the greatest conductors of our times, speaking generally, the most intelligent making music today.

He is also prepared to expand the repertoire constantly, and to revive forgotten works, including works of contemporary music, such as the work of his friend Luigi Nono.

This also includes Abbado's interpretative gifts, which always display a penetrating understanding of the music, clarity and mood. He never gives the impression of analytical roughness — he is shielded from this by his Italian temperament and his penchant for the opera.

In his work in singing technique he has shown that he has learned to let the music itself speak: or better still, Abbado lets the music sing.

He is a man who is taciturn and inhibited at rehearsals. He sweeps the orchestra away to the heights only in performance. With instinctive sureness of their playing together, which guarantees a certain degree of perfection even under less gifted performers, the musicians must work more intensely on the own initiative.

Negotiations are still in progress concerning contractual provisos, the agreement to Abbado's activities in Berlin and Vienna (as general music director for Vienna and the State Opera), and future appearances in Salzburg. It will not be easy for Berlin's Senator for the Arts, Anke Martiny, to come to decisions.

But with the election of Claudio Abbado, unchallenged from the start, the members of the Philharmonic have built a golden bridge for her.

Richard Bernstein

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 13 October 1989)

Continued from page 6

Western Europe's high-definition TV is competing with Japan's for the crucial US market.

Eastern Europe is being offered, as a special incentive, the prospect of an all-Europea[illegible]stant programme exchange possible on the basis of a common HDTV standard.

Western European aerospace companies have joined forces, to the seeming shock of US Congressmen, to develop a European space shuttle.

Ariane has proved a satisfactory satellite launcher rocket for non-European countries, triggering competitive offers of launching facilities from America, China and the Soviet Union.

It is already clear that without the internal market idea Western Europe would soon cease to be a high-tech competitor of either the United States or Japan.

It is no coincidence that a leading West German bank featured the ECU as Europe's new currency in full-page newspaper advertisements this August.

The European monetary union, on which conservative commercial and industrial interests lack enthusiasm, especially in the Federal Republic, would force politicians in the Twelve to forfeit sovereignty and to make headway toward integration, about which they have so far been reluctant.

But the "material force" of planning decisions long since reached by leading Western European groups, companies and banks is increasingly making its presence felt.

The rapid restructuring — or perestroika — of Western Europe was set in motion by politicians in 1985.

It has since developed a dynamism of its own to which leading political parties in all member-countries must adapt.

Britain is a case in point, where the erstwhile anti-Market Labour Party now accuses Conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of failing to appreciate the need for progress toward European integration — and of holding on to what is dismissed as outmoded national sovereignty.

Erich Hauser

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 23 October 1989)

Book prize for a 'harbinger of the new sensitivity'

At the end of the autumn conference of the German Academy for Language and Writing in Darmstadt it was announced that this year's Georg Büchner Prize had been awarded to Botho Strauss.

The eulogy will be spoken by Luc Bondy and the prize will be accepted by publisher Michael Krüger of the Hanser publishing house on Strauss's behalf.

Botho Strauss is regarded as the harbinger of a new sensitivity. *Lange Momente* (1987) and aphorisms in a sensitive style depict a present which has grown stiff on the surface, desolate, isolated, life goes on, passes by.

The spirit of the times has found an inspired chronicler in Strauss.

He has a criticial intelligence, and he mixes the language of art and everyday jargon together.

Strauss said: "There is decay on the ground," but that should not prevent us from taking a stroll.

His sense of farce and the comic in rigid situations has made Strauss into the contemporary German-language dramatist to whom the most attention is paid.

He enriched the theatre world with *Bekannte Gesichter, gemischte Gefühle* (1974), the *Trilogie des Wiedersehens* (1976) and *Groß und Klein* (1978).

With these plays has has been successful in achieving something which has not happened to a contemporary writer, namely, having theatres interested in premièring his plays, and also any number of theatres wanting to present repeat performances, as the programme for the Saarbrücken theatre shows.

In this season his *Die Trilogie des Wiedersehens* has been included six times in the programmes of German-language theatres.

Strauss's plays are social studies in miniature and are nourished from the "box of relationships" in intellectual, and semi-intellectual, circles.

He was way ahead in the tragi-comedy *Kalldewey, Farce* (1981). He said: "What do people have? They have a lot, quite a lot of the past."

But this is rather a sad result, for to learn from the past is not worth much. What remains are memories as "signs of loss."

Strauss was less successful as a prose writer. His stories, such as *Marlenes Schwester* (1975), or the novel *Der junge Mann* were mercilessly savaged by the critics.

The *Versuch ästhetische und politische Ereignisse zusammenzudenken* (1987), which Strauss had worked on consistently since 1967, was rejected because of its false aesthetic approach to the real world.

An exception to this was the successful story *Die Widmung* of 1977.

Botho Strauss was born on 2 December 1944 in Naumburg an der Saale. His father was a nutriment adviser.

He studied Germanistics, the history of drama and sociology at Cologne and Munich. From 1967 until 1970 he was a critic for *Theater Heute.*

In 1970 Peter Stein offered him the job as literary manager at Berlin's Schaubühne am Halleschen Ufer. He assisted in the spectacular productions put on there.

His first play, *Die Hypochonder,* was put on by Claus Peymann at the Deutsches Schauspielhaus in 1972 and booed off the stage by the audience.

But he had more success in Stuttgart at the première of his comedy *Bekannte Gesichter, gemischte Gefühle.*

A sense of farce... Strauss. (Photo: AP)

His work is various, not a unity. In the background is the influence of the philosophers Adorno and Heidegger.

Strauss bares his soul in his latest publication, *Fragmenten der Undeutlichkeit,* a poetic meditation, and in the grotesque-obscene parable *Kongreß*

In time for the Büchner Prize award the Reclam publishing house is putting out an original little book, *Über Liebe,* stories and fragments from the work of Botho Strauss, selected by Volker Hage.

In his preface Hage writes: "The experience of a whole generation coagulates here, the experience of those pragmatic lovers, who believe in speaking soberly and carefully about feelings, and who can keep sexuality and love from ties and the wish for children."

Wolfgang Schirmacher

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 21 October 1989)

Continued from page 10

Historical research has turned routine omissions, such as the refusal to make the Nazi salute, a symptom of "resistance," opposition by the little man, a symbolic protest. Brandauer's film makes obvious a qualitative distinction between "resistance" and protest. Elser is cut off from society as a whole as he makes his preparations for his assassination attempt, making the bomb and hiding place.

He does not once take into his confidence his fiancée, Anneliese, played by Rebecca Miller, who works in the Bürgerbräukeller. He even endangers her life because she is meant to hand Hitler a glass of water during his speech. There is only a touch of melodrama in a subsidiary plot in the whole of this unemotional film. Wagner, head of security, played by Brian Dennehy, who is on Elser's tracks, has forced his wife to have an abortion because he suspects she has had an affair with a Jew. Then he discovers that he has had his own child aborted.

Wagner corners Elser on the Swiss frontier on the night of 9 November and asks him the decisive question: "Why did you do it?" Elser does not have to answer any more to the audience, for Brandauer, through the naturalness, even composure, with which he plays Elser, has long provided the answer.

The attempt on Hitler's life had a meaning, even though an accident foiled it. Elser replied to Wagner's question: "Someone had to do it."

Patrick Bahners

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 20 October 1989)

■ EDUCATION

Girls, scientific subjects and prejudice — study looks at classroom roles

"It's somehow strange," says a 17-year-old Bielefeld schoolgirl. "There I sit in the back row and whenever I have anything to say the others all turn round and look at me — the only girl in the class."

You might imagine this as having been the situation faced by a 35-year-old woman back in the early 1970s when she was a pioneer of coeducation at German schools.

Today's 17-year-old, the only girl in a physics class, knows at first hand that old ideas die hard, in this case the idea that there are typical girls' subjects and typical boys' subjects.

Avoiding ridicule by saying nothing

This experience is borne out by the findings of a survey carried out at several Bielefeld high schools and published as *Mädchen, Macht (und) Mathe* (Girls, Power (and) Maths).

It was compiled by Ilse Brehmer for the North Rhine-Westphalian Equal Opportunities Commissioner and brings to light a state of affairs that has existed at least since the dawn of coeducation and is still an ever-present problem.

Many girls questioned said they were afraid of failing to hold their own




against boys, who knew so much more about technology, and preferred to say nothing rather than risk ridicule in class.

"I'd sooner say something when I'm absolutely sure of myself" is a frequent response that seems to bear out the instinctive guess that girls are quick to give in when they feel boys know much more about technology anyway.

They tend to underestimate themselves and were found to have less self-confidence in subjects that came under the heading "science and technology."

How do girls feel they are rated by their teachers? Some said that in scientific subjects teachers tended to attach greater importance to written exams than to (oral) class performance where girls were concerned.

These teachers argued that exam papers gave a clearer idea of the level reached. In other words, they expected girls to have little or nothing to say for themselves in class.

Some teachers said they had found girls to be "lazy" at times in scientific and technological subjects.

The girls argued that they had fewer opportunities than others of practising at, say, a home computer. The answers some teachers gave could, however, be taken as implying that they tended to reinforce prejudice by their views and assumptions.

Some, for instance, felt that private life was more important than a career for girls, while many unconsciously tended to pigeonhole girls as "quiet" or "reserved."

Boys, in contrast, might occasionally be described as idle or as having appalling handwriting, but these qualities were in many cases associated with attributes such as "creative" or "ingenious."

For state secretary Ilse Ridder, North Rhine-Westphalia's equal opportunities commissioner, these findings justify calling for further development of coeducation.

The atmosphere in class is, she says, an important contributory factor toward girls finding scientific and technological subjects harder to handle.

That was why, she said, presenting the survey's findings in the state capital, Düsseldorf, girls continued to be kept out of many subjects that were generally felt to be the shape of things to come.

University statistics seem to bear out this criticism. Sixty-two per cent of arts and language students are women, as against 32.2 per cent of mathematics and science students.

Women students are even rarer birds in engineering, where they are a mere 12 per cent.

Even modern maths textbooks have been found, in a Bremen survey, to underpin the old roles.

The Bremen survey probed maths exercises on behalf of the city's equal opportunities department and found them to reinforce the "husband buys car, wife does the shopping" cliché.

The implication may be that women should count themselves lucky that shopping still occurs in maths exercises. Otherwise they might not occur in textbooks at all.

Shopping may be extremely popular as a female activity in textbook exercises, but in the worst case women were found to make up a mere three per cent of the adults mentioned. In the best case they accounted for only three out of ten adults mentioned in exercises.

Working women are seldom mentioned

Working women are virtually never mentioned, say Constanze Lopatecki and Irene Lüking, who compiled the Bremen survey. In real life women do a much wider range of work.

In exercises men are cast in the role of mathematicians, TV programme directors or car dealers, while women tended to be cashiers or shop assistants — or simply "salary-earners."

The situation seems to be improving where young people are mentioned, however. Boys and girls are portrayed as being equally active and intelligent.

Yet girls in maths exercises invariably seem to have less money to spend than boys.

Michael Bergius

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 21 October 1989)

Widespread calls to abandon coeducation

In Lower Saxony the Greens would like to see coeducation scrapped. So would Otti Stein, equal opportunities commissioner in the Saar.

Frau Stein favours a temporary step to coeducation in sport, scientific and sociological subjects.

"Coeducation as now practised is not really coeducational," she says. "It's boys' education to which girls have to adjust."

This viewpoint is borne out by the findings of research work by Saarbrücken University sociologists.

Video footage is said to have shown that boys take up 60 per cent of the time in coeducational classes, thereby cementing their predominance.

As for sport, Frau Stein feels her views are borne out by a pilot project at a Neunkirchen high school.

Keen enthusiasm was shown by a group of 28 girls who took part in a self-defence course and by women teachers who attended a course on violence against women and girls.

In both groups it was clearly found to be useful and essential to carry out the programme with women only.

But what courses can be laid on for girls and women teachers in the long term? Are self-defence classes for girls going to be a regular feature of the curriculum at schools in the Saar?

Education Minister Diether Breitenbach, who, like Frau Stein, is a Social



Democrat, disagrees. "Segregation is not the way to achieve equal rights," he says.

Yet problems can even occur at primary school. Saarbrücken primary school girls are reported no longer to want to wear dresses or skirts because the boys gang up on them in the playground and pull their knickers off.

GEW, the teachers' union, feels separate lessons might well make sense in some subjects during puberty. So it at least agrees with Frau Stein to some extent.

Teachers agree that coeducation has not succeeded, to the extent that had been hoped, in counteracting disadvantages suffered by girls.

Frau Stein is by no means opposed to coeducation in principle, but she does feel separate classes would be advisable in sport and data processing.

School textbooks also badly need to be checked for cliché roles assigned to men and women.

A survey of educational aids from readers to primary school arithmetic textbooks is said to have revealed appalling findings where they might least have been expected.

In one maths textbook 435 girls appeared in exercises and illustrations, as against 836 boys.

Forty-nine women were shown shopping, as against nine men; 160 men were shown doing 50 different jobs, as against 55 women doing a dozen, mainly traditional women's jobs.

"School textbooks have thus been proved sexist," says one of Frau Stein's co-authors.

Volker Hildisch

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 20 October 1989)

Continued from page 2

Poland's problem is that the basic fabric of state has been perforated by corruption, nepotism and irresponsibility.

Economic and financial aid from the West cannot repair the damage. The loans which Poland demands will be ineffectively misallocated if the Poles fail to gradually regain trust in their state and become convinced that it is possible to honestly achieve what was only achievable up to now through semi-legal channels or through "connections."

Trust takes time to grow. But the Polish population wants improvements fast.

Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki cannot be blamed for saying that fast aid is worth twice as much. The government knows that it is sitting on a volcano which can erupt at any moment.

Nevertheless, fear and haste are not the best advisers.

In August the European Community approved of food aid worth DM250m for Poland. The first consignments already arrived at the beginning of September.

Up until mid-October the Poles were unable to organise the fund out of which the revenue from the sales of these goods was, as agreed on with the European Community, to be invested in the modernisation of the Polish agricultural sector.

Worse still, while the value of the sales revenue from the first consignments rapidly declines — the annual rate of inflation of the zloty is 350 per cent — the Polish farmers have not even been aware of the existence of such revenue.

The 16 production plants in Gdansk for which Lech Walesa found partners in the Federal Republic of Germany are another example of the detrimental effects of precipitate action.

When the first West German businessmen interested in this partnership arrived in Gdansk no-one there was able to make a serious cooperation offer.

Lech Walesa, however, still claims that the West is behaving "like a virgin who is too shy to accept an invitation to dance."

Industrialised countries have mobilised a great deal of goodwill and capital to facilitate Poland's and Hungary's adjustment to democratic and market economy structures. If this opportunity is wasted it will take a long time before a second one comes along.

In spite of all the sympathy for Mazowiecki the primary objective cannot be to save this government.

Governments come and go. One of society's main supporting pillars are the middle classes.

It was no coincidence that Nazi terror concentrated on this social stratum to subjugate Poland. Stalin did the same in "his" half of Poland. Both left their marks.

Poland lacks managers, craftsmen, scientists, farmers and traders who understand the mechanics of manpower organisation, cost calculations and the production of goods and services.

Professionals are needed who are able to set quality and performance standards and pass them on to wide sections of the population.

Western aid, therefore, can only bring about the desired effects in Poland if the support is channelled into efficient hands, provided step by step and has sufficient staying power.

Stefan Dietrich

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 26 October 1989)

■ SURVIVORS OF THE HOLOCAUST

Ill victims damned by a statute of limitations and scientific 'objectivity'

Frau F. was 65 years old when she was admitted to a mental hospital in 1965. She suffered from severe depression and lived under the delusion that she had accused her nephew of being a murderer.

Frau F. looked older than she is. Her hands shook and her eyes stared blankly. All efforts to pacify drew only a pitiful laugh. Her anxieties grew even after she was given anti-depressants. Beside herself with horror, she sprang to her feet and cried: "It's the end of the world."

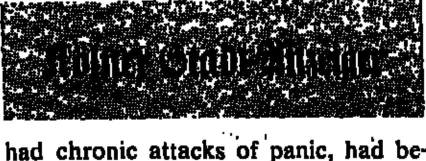
An international conference in Hanover dealt with the issue of the psychological damage to survivors of Nazi concentration camps and their descendants. It was the first conference of its type on German soil and it might well be the last on the grounds that, in the not-too-distant future, the people that survived the Holocaust will be dead. More than 350 scientists attended. They came from both Western and Eastern Europe, from Israel, North and South America. Among them were some who themselves had been persecuted in the Holocaust. Despite attempts to remain objective, it proved impossible to maintain a distance on this theme at this venue.

Frau F., a patient of Israeli psychiatrist Henry Szor, is one of many. Over many years, the number of survivors suffering mental breakdowns in their later years has increased every year. Many have lived apparently normal lives over the years. Frau F. is one. These have performed well in daily routine, with energy, drive, readiness to help others, almost without recollection of the horrors of the Nazi period.

It might sound cynical but, in pure medical terms, the conference was really productive: even participants with long experience in handling victims of the Nazi era were disturbed at the extent traumatic experiences can bury themselves in the human soul. Frau F. had witnessed the shooting of her one-year-old son and seen her brother die an agonizing death. After her homeland of Lithuania was occupied in 1941, she hid away in a subterranean bunker. She learned that her parents and two sisters had been murdered. Shortly before the end of the war, the forest where she had been hiding out was bombarded by the Germans, killing one of her brothers and her husband.

After the war, everything seemed to be turning out for the better. She married again and [illegible] daughter was born. In 1960, she and her family went to Israel. She worked as a book-keeper in a grocery business and this shielded her from the past. Then the business was closed and she became unemployed. Almost at the same time, her husband developed cancer. Before he died, the first symptoms of her illness appeared. There was the fear of being persecuted, the dread of having lost all her goods and chattels, of being banished and of starving.

There have been many doctors who have strongly disputed any causal connection between mental trauma and physical illness. One former victim of persecution had a heart attack at 50. Six years later he died after another one. What was the cause of death? Since his time in a concentration camp, he had



had chronic attacks of panic, had become obese and had developed a hyperkinetic heart syndrome. Did he die simply from a heart attack? Or, was Karl Peter Kisker, of Hanover, correct when he said that the death was merely the keystone in a "mosaic of a thousand situations" as part of which "he smoked and ate to excess in order to alleviate a hatred of which he was hardly aware of."

The alarming increase of both physical and mental collapse among older Holocaust survivors is by no means something that merely involved medicine.

That this damage is only now, 40 years after the war, making itself apparent is a metaphorical box around the ears in retrospect for all those who 20 years ago succeeded in closing the chapter of Nazi victims with Wiedergutmachung (compensation).

One speaker said there was a large element which wanted this to end the matter. Support for this assertion had come from an unlikely quarter: a judge in a Celle court had admitted that the question of Wiedergutmachung had been a political decision.

Is it then surprising that many are seeing this as a "second round of persecution"? Christian Pross, from Berlin, explained his thesis about the "retraumatisation of the victims through the Wiedergutmachung process." He mentioned the cross-examination-like method of medical examinations, the paper war over years with an opaque bureaucracy and the degradation of applicants to the level of supplicants and pension hunters. One incorrect answer meant the rejection of the entire application even when — as Milton Kestenberg, of New York, said — if that mistake was made in good faith. Psychic suffering was rejected as being something the applicant had a predisposition to.

One assessor had drawn the comparison with the temporary unsettling effects of "being in love;" another referred to "hysteria." Martin Wangh, from Jerusalem, said harm to children was not recognised as a result of persecution if they were supposedly too small at the time to be able to "remember" early suffering. People who had been forcibly sterilised, homosexuals and deserters did not qualify at all for damages. Communists were afterwards excluded.

Barbara Vogt-Heyder, from Heidelberg, had often noticed that the entire process of Widergutmachung was not because of any need by the Germans, but because of a demand by the Allies. In 1952, an opinion poll by the Allensbach Institute showed that 44 per cent of Germans considered that the payment of three billion marks in Wiedergutmachung to Israel was "superfluous."

The sheer extent of "late damage" was a reminder of the crying injustice of the statute of limitation included in the compensation legislation.

Certainly, in cases of a chronic and worsening illness, a supplementary application could be made — but only by those who had placed their pension claims by the end of 1969 at the latest. Hard to believe, but true: a parcel containing medical reports on 40 American emigrants accidently found its way to the German customs. As a result, it was two weeks late arriving at its destination and, as a subsequent result, the entire 40 applications were late and, for this reason, were rejected. Yet it doesn't have to be this way. In Holland, a statute of limitations was rejected. Every year, around 2,000 victims of persecution make application for consideration. It is estimated that up at least until 1995 this number will not even be halved.

The Hanover conference called for a review of the statute of limitations in Germany. Up to 300,000 people could possibly be allowed compensation in cases of "late injury." But no one can foresee just how many.

The amount of suffering was so extensive that the fear of emotion, while understandable, was in its way also terrible. It is with a helplessness that one hears what happened to Ruth Eliās, the author of a report dealing with concentration camps. She gave birth to a baby in Auschwitz. She killed the doomed child herself. Camp doctor Mengele had been using it in an experiment to see how long a newly born baby could survive without sustenance.

Because it was clear that after her report, no one would want to talk about "scientific data", her contribution was at the last minute placed at the end of the session. No one had really comprehended the almost sinister tone that could be introduced by discussion of the issue in scientific terms and the use of statistics to represent various aspects. An equally eerie effect was that it almost seemed as if the victims had once again become victims — but this time as research objects for the benefit of science.

It must have been extremely hard for Haim Dasberg, from Jerusalem. He was himself in a concentration camp and, as a psycho-therapist, he knows the fate of innumerable of the persecuted and includes himself therefore with despair within these various scientific categories — "control group" and "comparative cases". He says he does need this objective material in order to convince himself of the depth and profundity and extent of the suffering.

He also admitted that he believed that in Germany, language must be couched in such a manner because politicians, bureaucrats and even many doctors understood nothing else.

Hans Keilson, from Holland, was afraid that the Wiedergutmachung legal process was entangling the victims in a sort of mass of scientific strategies which made it easy to forget that the theme here was not about "objective" science but about politics. Why was this "objective" appraisal of claims left in the hands of medical assessors?

Lee Eitinger, from Oslo, came to the conclusion that all former camp inmates who have become ill should be regarded as having become ill because of their time in a camp. That is the attitude taken by Norway and the Netherlands, where the burden of proof did not rest with the people who were ill but where a doctor had to be able to demonstrate "objectively" that an illness was not connected to internment in a concentration camp.

The conference showed how the belief that the process of Wiedergutmachung could be played out through "objective" medical reports was a fiction. It was politically an easy way out, but also ominous. Theoretically, it would be almost unimportant if — as Paul Matussek, of Munich, said — an assessor was Jewish, concentration camp inmate, persecutor, persecuted, German or non-German.

That is not a piece of philosophical hair-splitting. In the damages process, assessors who had been members of the Nazi party, the SS and the SA had been appointed. There have even been cases where claims applicants have recognised their former persecutors.

Irene Meichsner

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 17 October 1989)

Continued from page 3

the GDR. Will Herr Krenz put to good use what, for him, is a relatively encouraging situation? The pressure exerted by expectations is substantial, with people's patience at an end.

We must sceptically wait and see whether the new East German leader is sufficiently capable of learning new tricks to make use of the limited time that remains at his disposal to carry out radical reforms.

His first televised address to the people did not contain any clear pointer in this direction. It contained no self-criticism by the Party either.

The crucial factor will now be whether mass pressure from below and external pressure from the Soviet Union will encourage reformers in the SED to take heart and urge Herr Krenz to make headway. The dismissal of Joachim Herrmann, politburo member in charge of agitation and propaganda, has triggered guarded hopes of progress toward glasnost.

As in the Soviet Union, Hungary or Poland, freedom of opinion and information is the first essential step in the direction of reform.

Public discussion in the media and coming to terms with the GDR's Stalinist past are indispensable if structural changes are to follow.

Party-political pluralism and free trade unions are essential. Yet Herr Krenz still insists on the SED's outmoded claim to leadership and even intends the ruling party to regain the initiative.

That is potential high explosive. In the GDR mere reforms, as in Hungary or Poland, are not enough. Even if they change their systems, Hungary and Poland will survive as states.

The GDR, as a part-state, must jettison bankrupt "real socialism" and arrive at a democracy with new social forms, at some kind of democratic socialism, if it is to justify an existence separate from the Federal Republic.

This daunting task is unlikely to succeed under Herr Krenz's leadership. But if he were to appreciate the signs of the times he could at least embark on a transition toward fundamental renewal.

Even that would be a turning-point as far as the GDR was concerned.

Hermann Weber

(Mannheimer Morgen, 20 October 1989)

■ FRONTIERS

The pornography industry gradually changes its spots — warts and all

Pornography has gradually become a part of our society: people are much less inhibited than they used to be. Commercial TV stations beam out now what would have been unthinkable three or four years ago.

There used to be a lot of interest in pornography in this country just after it was legalised in 1975. But then interest waned a little. But there has been no decline in Italy, Spain and Greece.

But for how long? When what today is new becomes old hat in these countries, then the giants of the pornography business are pinning their hopes on glasnost in Russia.

The general anxiety about Aids has cheered up pornography dealers enormously. Kel Madsen, head of the giant Danish pornographic organisation, Rodox, says: "There has been less and less sexual activity, but this will only sharpen the need for pornographic stimulation."

By the end of this decade turnover for hardcore videos will have tipped the $3bn level. There are 12,000 video shops in the United States and they alone have a turnover of over a billion dollars from pornographic videos.

According to estimates by video shop owners between 30 and 40 per cent of their customers buy not only porno

‘Many now demand that plots have nice girls and so on’

videos but also pornographic publications. One in 10 buys only sex, not crime.

The head of the Starlight porno organisation said: "It is important in the pornographic film business to show fresh young people all the time." Hardcore pornographic film-makers have to think up new tricks as well, and in doing so they run pretty close to the law.

One dealer in pornography said: "Teenagers are always in demand. They can be taken on for anything, no matter the price."

Evidence continuously comes to light about this flourishing under-the-counter business. Children from the age of eight onwards are "marketed" by special agencies. Most come from Thailand.

There was, for instance, a picture caption under the photo of a young girl which read: "Thai girl 12." When placing an order there is a kind of code: the girl's age is given "plus 10."

A seminar at the Erlangen-Nuremberg University came to the conclusion that taboos had fallen away. The drama faculty organised the seminar entitled "Violence and Passion — the Pornographic Film."

In film production there is no escaping the fact that the depiction of the sex act in the conventional way is no longer on.

If success is measured in terms of turnover then German pornographic films are the most successful. The popular *Josefine Mutzenbacher* alone netted DM5m in a very short space of time.

Herbert Heinzelmann, lecturer on the film, regards the growing interest in pornographic films, in the constant



search for "sensations," an indication of the narcotic effect which filmed sex can have.

He said: "The next kick must be better." This could become the area of almost imperceptible illness. The line when this becomes a sickness is, "when sexuality is defined more by what one sees than by what one experiences."

According to Herr Heinzelmann most people are on the safe side of this dividing line. Their inclination to see pornography has its bases in the makeup of our society.

A video dealer said: "The trend is more towards gentleness. There is considerable demand for lesbian and women's videos. The market is fragmenting quite clearly."

He pointed out: "There are people who can never have enough pornography. There is also a large group who want it to be nice, with a plot and with nice girls and so on."

Federal Republic legislation only permits so-called "clean" pornography. The presentation of violence, of force and rape is banned, as is the presentation of sexual acts with animals and children. But the pornographic industry runs very close to the wind.

Extreme films have been widely distributed recently. There is also a new tendency: making the female body aesthetically acceptable.

When the Danes shook the TV and film world with pornographic films from lower middle-class living rooms, their models, apparently abandoned to passion, were rather homely and quite average in appearance.

Today there is a demand for high technology in pornographic films. Teresa Orlowski has a leading position in the pornographic film market with her "Designer-Porno," in which extremely beautiful women perform in classy surroundings.

Teresa Orlowski, and her Italian colleague Ilona Staller, have appeared in talk-shows on TV.

They try to break away from clumsy camera work with few cuts. Teresa Orlowski's company — the star model is the boss herself — is one of the few German pornographic film producers. Most of the material comes primarily from the USA. It is re-copied and dubbed into German.

The market is not dominated by quality as the development of cheap productions shows.

A pornographic film salesman said: "Previously films were shot on Malibu Beach. They had atmosphere. Now there is no extravagance.

"The films are shot in a kind of black-box process. No one goes through a door: the door is painted on. In the early days it was exciting: today the action is cold, quite sterile."

But nevertheless the producers still make a pile of money.

The stars in pornographic films do not do too badly either: Porno stars in Hollywood earn up to half a million dollars per film. Beginner models get about one hundred dollars an hour for hardcore photographic sessiona. There is good money to be made in the Federal Republic's industry as well. The Beate Uhse group, dealers in pornography with headquarters in Flensburg, has a turnover of DM160m annually.

A new development on the market is that having an excess of pornography brings about a sense of frustration among customers. Many say they have had enough of watching bodies thrashing about and small details on a large screen.

But the owner of one porno shop reported how the reverse was true with some of his customers: frustration brought about a frenzied desire to watch pornography.

He said: "Most of our customers come on Monday after a frustrating weekend with their marriage partner or the person they are with. They are mainly young people and very many married people, who are looking for something stimulating."

He said that after Christmas and other national holidays there were also crowds in the porno shops.

One expert on the sex scene said that it was obvious that pornography could become a habit. It gave satisfaction for a short time but aroused desires more and more, particularly the desire for change.

Professor Herbert Selg, a psychologist from Bamberg, disputed that watching pornography could become an addiction. He has written a book entitled *Pornographie — Psychologische Beiträge zur Wirkungsforschung.*

He has often prescribed pornography against a lack of interest in sex. He said he wanted to avoid the inflammatory use of the term. "If every strong interest is described as an addiction, then there are many kinds of addiction."

The participants in the university's seminar ended by endorsing the view of the people who work in sex shops. It is possible to be addicted to pornography.

‘A revolutioniser of morals or a greedy businesswoman?’

Nevertheless the experts at the seminar described most of the films shown as "harmless."

The greatest danger in pornography, apart from the extremes, is less in the presentation of sex as in the manner the porno film producers depicted male dominance.

Is there a male and a female view of pornography? Herbert Heinzelmann answered this in the negative in the main. "When women look at men it is different from the way men look at women. It is more a facet of the individual than a specific quality of a sex."

Women frequently react in a negative manner to hardcore pornography. For them it is too soulessly mechanical, lacking in tenderness.

According to a survey by a Hamburg sexology research institute at least a half of all woman have seen at least one pornographic film.

One lecturer said: "Women do not favour reducing sex to the genitals, but there are plenty of men who do just that."

Klaus Speck

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 21 October 1989)



From planes to porn . . . Beate Uhse. (Photo: dpa)

The queen of erotica still going at 70

Beate Uhse is as well known as Chancellor Helmut Kohl. A survey has shown that 98 per cent of the population knows her name and her business.

She owns a chain of sex shops and runs a mail-order business dealing in erotica. She is popularly known as the woman from Flensburg who has something to do with sex. In fact, she has made cultural history.

Frau Uhse has just turned 70. Wolfgang Börnsen, a member of the Bundestag, described her as "the pioneer of liberal sexuality" and recommended that she should be given the Order of the Federal Republic, but this will not happen.

The Schleswig-Holstein *Land* government in Kiel has turned the recommendation down. Beate Uhse, the woman who has caused a revolution in the boudoir, is regarded in official circles in Kiel as a pornography-addicted money-grubber.

She comes from East Prussia. She suffered the usual fate in the post-war period, and then she found success. She was born on 25 October 1919. Her father was a landowner and her mother the first woman doctor in East Prussia.

She was a military pilot at the age of 18: at 26 she was the widow of a night-fighter pilot named Uhse. She was herself a Luftwaffe captain.

On 30 April 1945 she flew a twin-engined Siebel 104 out of Berlin's Gatow airfield and at 19.35 hours she landed at the Leck military flying field in Schleswig-Holstein. She had with her her two-year-old son Klaus.

The first phase of Beate Uhse's life had ended: the second was about to begin. It involved hand-painted calendars with the days when the woman could not conceive marked in (after the theories of gynaecologists H. Knaus, Austrian, and K. Ogino, Japanese), as love-aids for her neighbours.

Then she set up the first mail order business and protested against social attitudes towards sex. In 1952 sex between unmarried couples was still an offence.

Beate Uhse's protest met with a public response, shown by her business. In 1952 she had 220,000 customers: by 1960 she had a million. Today her group has a turnover of DM110m.

Frau Uhse sells sex books, sex aids, sex films and sex videos. She has become the "nation's orgasm" as *Penthouse* magazine put it, or "sex educator of the nation," as *Time* described her.

Many regard her has the person who sells disgusting things: others as "a wom-

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■ HORIZONS

Dr Monika gets ready for the paradise where the boiling water crackles

In December the Antarctic will provide an impressive backdrop for a special premiere when nine women set foot on the 10-metre ice shelf that will be their home for 14 months until the research vessel "Polarstern" arrives with their replacement crew. One of the nine, the first all-female team to spend a year at the German Antarctic research station, is Flensburg doctor Monika Puskeppeleit, 34, here interviewed for *Kieler Nachrichten* by Manfred Gothsch.

Wearing a white housecoat, a stethoscope in her pocket, Dr Monika Puskeppeleit walks briskly to the reception of the Franziskus-Hospital in Flensburg to meet me.

"Have you had lunch yet? Or maybe you'd like a coffee? The canteen is probably still open. I have a dental appointment afterwards," she says, walking smartly along the corridor.

Dr Puskeppeleit is a busy woman right now, but she will soon have time on her hands.

At the end of November she will be off to the Antarctic as one of a nine-woman crew of the German Antarctic research station, the Georg von Neumayer base.

The intrepid nine will spend 14 months in isolation, cold, storms and darkness. For nine months they will be entirely on their own. Radio and fax will be their only link with the outside world.

But the prospect doesn't dismay her. Quite the opposite. "It will be a dream come true as far as I am concerned," says the 34-year-old trainee surgeon.

At the Flensburg hospital where she works she is still practising, extracting and filling teeth as part of her training.

She is very happy here. "They really look after me," she says. "My colleagues are wondering what else they can teach me that could come in useful in the Antarctic."

She will be taught essential anaesthetics and gynaecology in other parts of Germany before the party sets sail. You never can tell what might be needed when you're the base's doctor.

The Antarctic is so inhospitable that even boiling water crackles and freezes when it is poured into the sub-zero air.

But Monika Puskeppeleit sees it as "the last paradise, where nature is relatively intact."

A spirit of adventure is involved too, of course. She has backpacked round New Zealand and prospected for opals in Australia in her time.

But she cannot be said to look like an adventurer. The impression she creates is more intellectual. She has a sense of commitment and responsibility.

She is deliberate in what she does even though she claims to be temperamental and to show what she thinks and feels.

Her description of how she came to enlist for Antarctic service is certainly rational enough, starting with a childhood in which she once harnessed her grandparents' German shepherd dog to her toboggan.

Her ambition was really triggered by a documentary film she saw in 1979. It was a film about the US McMurdo Antarctic research station. It left her anything but cold.

"Ever since," she says, "I have missed no opportunity of getting to the Antarctic myself."

She made contact with Antarctic research scientists, joined the polar medicine study group and worked as an emergency and country doctor to gain as much and as varied experience as possible.

She gave lectures, attended congresses and toured research institutes. The nine women came to know each other via the Alfred Wegener Polar Research Institute in Bremerhaven.

The team consists of two geophysicists, two meteorologists, two engineers, a radio operator, a cook and Frankfurt-born Monika Puskeppeleit, the doctor.

They jointly applied to crew the Antarctic research station for a season and were put through their paces on a survival training course in the Alps.

They jumped into glacier crevices and worked their way out. They climbed up and down rock faces.

Their performance was so impressive that the project management in Bremerhaven and at the Research Ministry in Bonn decided to give them the go-ahead.

They are between 27 and 34 years old, single and extremely ambitious. But Dr Puskeppeleit doesn't see herself as a feminist.

"No," she says, "not me. I'd just as readily have joined a mixed team. But we, unlike the Americans or the Russians, don't have them. The authorities are worried that inter-personal conflicts might arise." Yet problems are still bound to arise in such isolated conditions, she feels.

"But people who return from a tour of duty in the Antarctic don't have much to say about disputes and crises," she says. "Maybe we women will be able to break the taboo."

She says psychological evaluation of behaviour by people in cramped quarters has been neglected, just as polar medicine has been given short shrift as a research discipline. "If you like," she says, "my personal motivation is to help establish polar medicine and maybe concentrate research on it."

She will have every opportunity of doing so at the Georg von Neumayer base.

She plans to take blood samples from her team-mates to learn more about how the body's immune system responds to the Antarctic climate. She is *still looking for an immunologist* to evaluate her data when she returns from the tour. She will also be investigating the effect on bacilli of exposure to Antarctic radiation.

The other women will be observing the weather, checking earth movements and probing wind power. "We all have tight work schedules," she says.

To make sure they won't be bored when work is over, their equipment includes several crates full of books, instruments and other hobby material.

Dr Puskeppeleit's leisure kit includes water colours, her flute, books (from Plato and Karl Jaspers to Georges Sand and others) and recorded music (ranging from Bach to BAP).She expects she will most miss her jogging, spring (the season) and windows (the base camp is eight metres underground). The crew live and work in twin tubular containers, each 50 metres long. The entrances and the antennas are all that can be seen above ground.

At ground level the temperature is -46° C and gales of up to 160kph (100mph) are far from uncommon. Nature at its roughest.

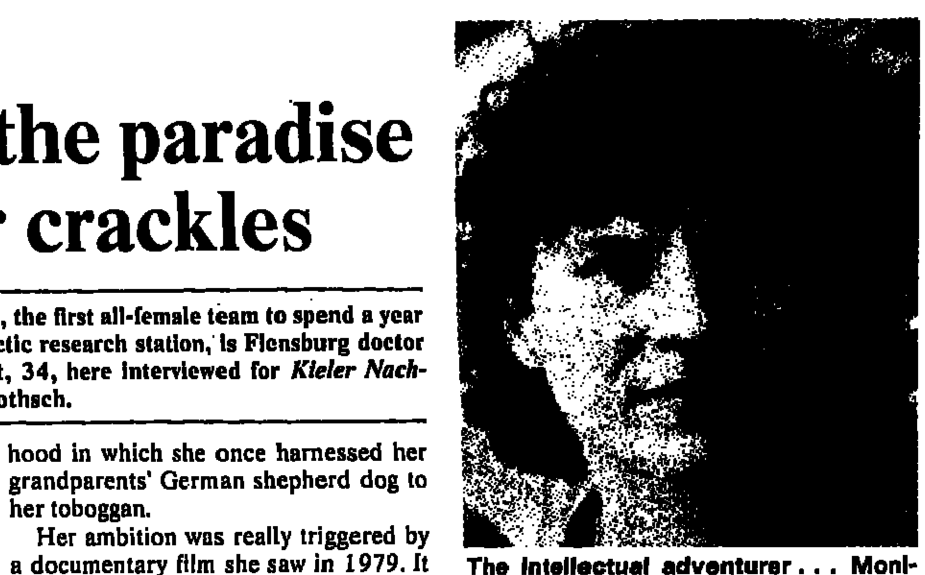
The climate cannot fail to have an effect on the crew, making people take a fresh look at life and see themselves in a different perspective. "I'm sure we'll take it easier in the Antarctic," she says.

Does she have any worries? "Oh yes, especially a greater readiness to run risks that may lead to accidents occurring," she says.

She is also slightly worried about what may lie ahead on her return. "Fellow-doctors have found it very hard to find a new job when they got back. I may end up somewhere in Africa. Who knows? I've always managed to think of something or other in the past."

Manfred Gothsch

(Kieler Nachrichten, 21 October 1989)



The intellectual adventurer . . . Monika Puskeppeleit. (Photo: dpa)

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an who knows how much men like sexy female underwear." But more and more people regard her has one of the most capable businesswomen in the country.

She not only discovered that men and women were susceptible to stimulus but she is partly responsible for the fact that, in 1975, pornography was made legal for adults and the state had to withdraw from the intimacy of the bedroom.

Beate Uhse has earned millions, but she has had to pay a high price for her wealth. Socially she was and is an outcast. She has had 2,000 court cases against her, but she has never been convicted.

She has brought happiness to many Germans but happiness has evaded her. Her 23-year-long marriage with Ernst-Walter Rotermund, by whom she had four children, ended in divorce. She had to pay compensation of DM3m.

Then in 1983 she had to undergo surgery in Hamburg for cancer, and a year later her son, Klaus, whom she saved from Berlin in flames, died of the same illness.

Beate Uhse is 70, successful, ill, alone and in the half-light of society. How will she be regarded in 10 years' time? As a revolutioniser of morals or as a greedy businesswoman?

Günter Stiller

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 24 October 1989)